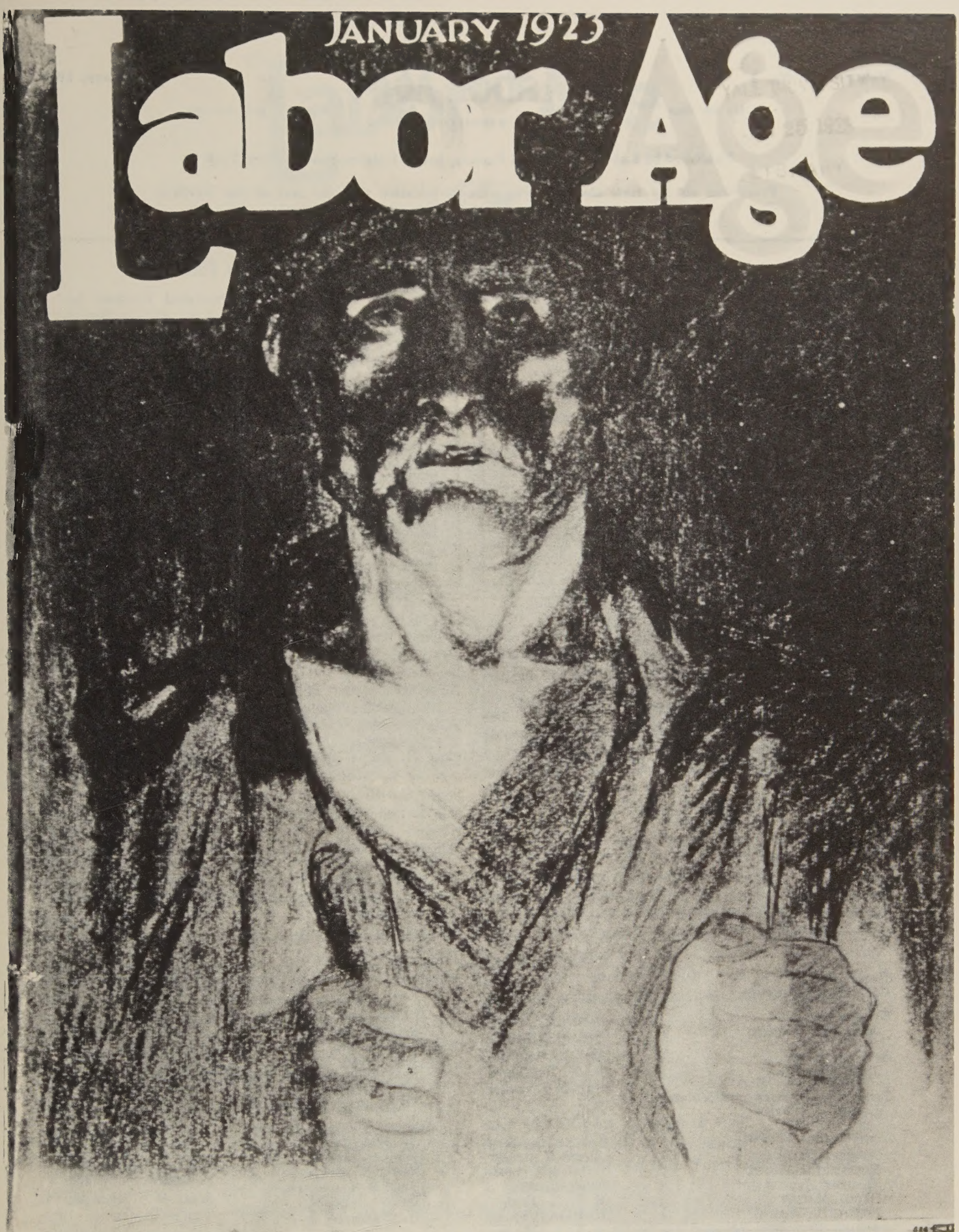
JANUARY 1923

# Labor Age



## STEEL:—Bulwark of Anti-Unionism

*American Labor Must Take Reaction's Stronghold*

Volume XII, No. 1 | January, 1923

20c per copy

# Labor Age

*A Monthly Labor Digest*

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in the socialization of industry.

## CONTENTS:

STEEL—BULWARK OF ANTI-UNIONISM *William Hannon*.. 1
STEEL'S LOST LABOR LEADERS *John A. Fitch*.... 4
IN THE WAKE OF THE BIG STRIKE *David J. Saposs*.. 6
THE DIARY OF A FURNACE WORKER *John A. Fitch*.... 9
MR. OLDS TO THE RESCUE....*Louis F. Budenz*.. 11
MOLTEN ORE ..... 13
"WHAT WILL HE DO WITH IT?" *Labor Press*..... 15
THE STRUGGLE IN SOMERSET.*Albert Armstrong*. 18
REAL VICTORY .....*Prince Hopkins*... 22
LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING ..... 24
THE BRITISH ELECTIONS ....*Felix Morley*..... 27
BOOK NOTES ..... 28

## *Contributors to This Issue*

ALBERT ARMSTRONG. President Windber Local, U. M. W. of A. One of the striking Somerset miners.

JOHN A. FITCH. Author, "Steel Workers"—one of the volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey; now with New York School for Social Service.

WILLIAM HANNON. Secretary, National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.

FELIX MORLEY. American newspaperman, who spent a number of years in England.

DAVID J. SAPOSS. Director, Labor Bureau, Inc.; member of faculty, Brookwood Workers' College.

### 1923'S BIG JOB

STEEL is hard. That applies both to the product itself and the making of it. The intense heat connected with every step in steel-making means hell for the workers in it.

In no other industry is there a more hard-boiled labor policy pursued. The 12-hour day—with its 24-hour double shift twice a month—is a classic of industrial barbarity.

Judge Gary himself—the nominal head of the Steel Trust—has just acknowledged that this 12-hour day is not ethically and socially right. But "economically" it is necessary for the steel industry. In other words, so says the Judge; "We are committing a crime against the workers. But we must do it to make PROFITS."

Steel has practically never been unionized. The blood of the workers, not only from industrial accidents but from industrial war, is written on it. The last effort to free the steel workers—in 1919—still lives as a great attempt that failed. And not satisfied with crushing its own men, the Steel Trust has reached out to crush all labor through the "Open Shop Campaign." It is the driving force back of that anti-union movement.

What does 1923 hold forth for the men in the steel mills? Freedom? There are signs that it may come. A labor shortage is threatening in steel. The Trust has been compelled to raise wages "voluntarily." The fine fight of the steel workers in Newport, Kentucky, without help from the outside, also causes the Steel Kings worry. The 12-hour day has been flayed by the engineers and religious bodies. Discontent is undoubtedly wide spread among the workers.

Will the explosion come this year? All labor hopes so. For it means not only the unshackling of the steel men, but a great step forward in labor's fight against the Profit Makers.

**Labor Publication Society, Inc.**

*President:* JAMES H. MAURER

*Treasurer:* ABRAHAM BAROFF

*Secretary:* J. M. BUDISH

*Executive Secretary and Manager.* LOUIS F. BUDENZ

*Contributing Editors:*
MORRIS HILLQUIT
FREDERIC C. HOWE
W. JETT LAUCK
BASIL MANLY
FRANK P. WALSH

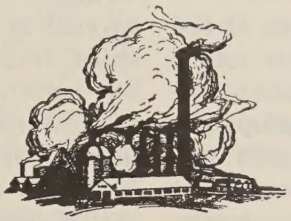
*Board of Editors:*
ROGER N. BALDWIN
STUART CHASE
MAX D. DANISH
H. W. LAIDLER
PRINCE HOPKINS
TOSCAN BENNETT
ANITA C. BLOCK
FANNIA M. COHN
EVANS CLARK
H. W. L. DANA
HERMAN DEFREM

*Board of Directors:*
*The Officers, Board of Editors, and:*
HEBER BLANKENHORN
S. JOHN BLOCK
JOHN BROPHY
MCALISTER COLEMAN
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
ARTHUR GLEASON
WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON
HARRY KELLY
S. J. LIEBERMAN
A. J. MUSTE
ABRAHAM TUVIM
ANDREW WENNEIS
LEO WOLMAN

*Advisory Editorial Board:*
CHARLES ERVIN
SCOTT NEARING
PAULINE NEWMAN
ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
UPTON SINCLAIR
H. G. TEIGAN
LAURENCE TODD
ALEX. TRACHTENBERG
B. CHARNEY VLADECK
JAMES P. WARBASSE
SAVEL ZIMAND

*Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.* *Copyright, 1923.*

Labor Age



# Steel—Bulwark of Anti-Unionism

*American Labor Must Take Reaction's Stronghold*

By WILLIAM HANNON

CAN THESE MEN BE FREED?

Their Freedom Will Keep All Labor Free.

The above is a reproduction of the sketch by Joseph Stella, entitled "At the Base of the Blast Furnace." It appeared in the volume "Wage Earning Pittsburgh" —one of the volumes of the Pittsburgh Survey.

THE importance of trade-union organization for the steel workers themselves is clear to all fair minded individuals. The importance of trade-union organization in the steel industry for the sake of the labor movement as a whole is not so well understood. This article aims to bring it into the strong light of day.

When the steel-workers organized and struck in 1919, the U. S. Steel Corporation, which controls over half the industry, held to its historic position of refusing to deal with labor organizations. **It is, was, and always has been the leading example of anti-unionism pure and simple.** It has held to this position no matter what the demands of the workers, the form of union organization, the character and beliefs of the leaders, or any other circumstances that might differ from time to time.

In 1919 the Steel Corporation attempted to draw a red-herring across its trail by a clever and under-handed publicity campaign which aimed to discredit the strikers because many of them were "foreigners," and to discredit the leaders because some of them had been "reds." This was a shrewd policy not only because it played on post-war prejudices, rampant in the minds of the general public, but also because it might split the workers themselves. It was intended not only to divide the workers in the steel industry but in the trade-union movement throughout the country. How sincere it was may be judged by events which came to light following the end of the strike.

Having defeated the "foreigners" and "reds" in the steel industry for the time being, was the Steel Corporation satisfied to allow "Americans" and "conservative" trade-union officials to pur-

sue their way in peace in other industries? By no means.

### The Fangs of Steel—In Building and Coal

We all know the story of the troubles of the building trades in New York and other cities. We know that the building trades situation was troubled because of the "open-shop" campaign. In this campaign one of the chief fights was made against the Structural Iron Workers, who could not secure recognition and union contracts. Why? Mr. Samuel Untermeyer of the Lockwood Committee told the story. He told it before the Committee on Labor and Education of the United States Senate. He said there that the United States Steel Corporation was responsible for forming the Iron Erectors League and that the Steel Trust controlled its policy. The League would not operate with union labor. The Steel Corporation would not sell steel to any contractor who put it up under union conditions. Some of the best known and experienced firms of building contractors in the country, with investments of many millions of dollars in their business, were prevented from erecting the steel in buildings for which they held contracts, because they dealt with union labor. The Structural Iron Workers can testify out of grim experience to the autocratic plan and simple anti-union position of the Steel Corporation.

Then came the coal strike. The issue of the strike depended largely on whether the non-union fields could produce coal enough to fill the country's needs until the miners were starved out. The largest and most important non-union field in Pennsylvania is owned by the U. S. Steel Corporation, through the H. C. Frick Coal and Coke Co. This is in the Connelsville Coke region, which is important because it furnishes the best coking coal for the steel industry. Covering parts of four counties, the Steel Corporation's holdings here comprise over 60,000 acres, worked by 56 plants with nearly 20,000 bee-hive coke ovens. The Connelsville ovens produce 15 to 20 million tons a year or about one-third of the country's total output of coke. Though formerly organized under the Knights of Labor, they have been non-union for 30 years. The unorganized miners in this region struck solidly in 1922 and were fought to the bitter end by the Steel Corporation in accordance with its aggressive anti-union, autocratic policy.

### Crushing Miners and Seamen

The next most important non-union coal fields are in West Virginia. The whole country knows of the bitter struggles that have been waged there to keep the miners from organizing,—struggles in which the employers have not only carried on the warfare by the usual means of spies, hired thugs and gunmen, evictions, etc., but have corrupted the government by paying the salaries of deputy sheriffs and have frequently brought about a state of open warfare. In Logan and Mingo counties the Steel Corporation subsidiaries own at least 54,000 acres of coking coal land and 33,000 acres of surface coal land. In Letcher and Harlan counties they own at least 74,000 acres of coking coal and 32,000 acres of surface coal. In the Pocahontas field the corporation leases through subsidiaries at least 64,000 acres of the best fuel property. Altogether, from its own records, the Steel Corporation is seen to be the largest producer of coal in West Virginia, and its interests are constantly growing. Here also it fought to the end the mine-workers' organization in 1922 as in former years.

The Steel Corporation is the biggest operator of coal mines in the United States. In a few districts it has not been able to escape unionization. But in these districts it has led the anti-union drive.

In 1922 the seamen on the Great Lakes struck against the twelve-hour day, which has been enforced on the ships of the Lake Carriers' Association. For years other ships on the Great Lakes have had the eight-hour, three-shift system. But the Pittsburgh Steamship Company, a steel-trust unit, dominates the Lake Carriers' Association and holds it to the relic of the dark ages which still exists in the steel industry—the 12-hour working day. The strike turned into an open-shop fight, with Steel Corporation interests fighting unionism as usual.

### Black Spots

These are outstanding, public examples, about which we know the facts. There are many other cases about which we are able to guess. The Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries actually own a good part of the industrially important spots in the United States. A map of the country showing their holdings is spattered all over with black spots, from East to West, from North to South. It not only owns steel and iron plants, wire works, rail works, tin-plate works, bridge works, sheet and tube works, but coal mines, cement plants, iron mines, steamship lines, railroads, shipyards, etc.

Besides its enormous capitalization, it has an undivided surplus of over half a billion dollars. It is in close touch with manufacturers' associations, chambers of commerce, and the like. Its directors are also partners of J. P. Morgan & Co., and directors of banks which control most of the railroads of the country as well as many great industrial enterprises. It is this group of men which has tried to crush the unions of railroad shopmen by an uncompromising policy. In the realm of Big Business the word of the Steel Corporation is the word of a Kaiser. And for years Mr. Elbert H. Gary, whose motto is, confessedly, "no dealings with union labor," has personally voted a majority of its common stock, according to his own statement.

Whenever wage-earners in any industry are resisting wage reductions or asking for improved conditions, they are met by Mr. Gary's contention that the conditions of labor are set by unalterable forces of "demand and supply." The employers point to the low wages and long hours which obtain in steel and other non-union industries as examples of the state of the labor market. Yet the Steel Corporation and other employers sympathetic with it control so large a proportion of industry, including the hundreds of thousands of workers in their plants, that they actually fix a large part of the "demand and supply" referred to. Whenever they see fit to cease production they can "deflate" labor almost at will.

### That 12-Hour Day

The twelve-hour day is an example of their power. The three-shift, eight-hour system has been installed in the steel industry in every other civilized country in the world. The American steel workers struck for it in 1919. The steel masters could not grant it then—oh, no!—for that would have meant that they were conceding something to the power of labor organization. The Interchurch Commission condemned the long day. The Steel Corporation answered that the Interchurch investigators were a bunch of "radicals" and that anyway it could not get the necessary extra men during a time of prosperity and labor scarcity. A competent economist, Mr. Horace B. Drury, after investigating some twenty independent steel plants which already had the three-shift system, reported that labor cost would not be much greater for the eight-hour day than for the twelve. The Republican President of the United States gathered the steel men together and asked them to install the eight-hour day—the time then being ripe because of a large labor surplus and unemployment. The steel men appointed a committee of themselves to "investigate." The Federated American Engineering Societies appointed a committee of competent engineers, who investigated and reported that the eight-hour day was practicable.

While these investigations were going on, prosperity returned. The last we have from Gary on the subject is a speech on December 22, 1922, to the effect that the change cannot be adopted because of a "labor shortage." He said that it would "wreck the industry." He said it was "ethical" but not "feasible." That is the way Mr. Gary's mind works. He will always find excuses for sticking like a rock to mediaeval conditions while the tide of progress surges around him. **I am willing to predict that the Steel Corporation will not abandon the twelve-hour day until it is compelled to do so, and that the only effective compulsion will be that applied by Organized Labor.**

### Steel Dictatorship

So long as the U. S. Steel Corporation has not accepted the democratic policy of conferring with organized labor, no nook or cranny of the trade-union movement is safe from attack. The choice of the wage-earners of the United States seems to lie between giving effective help to the steel workers in their organizing efforts and submitting to the benevolent dictatorship of Mr. Gary and his oligarchy throughout industry.

We know what that dictatorship means. It means spies and detective agencies. It means corporation control of local governments and of constabularies and police. It means the influencing of the press and clergy and so of "public opinion." It means the twelve-hour day, wages set solely by "supply and demand," no conference with organized workers, completely autocratic control of industry. A corporation with the policy of the steel trust behaves in the community in precisely the same way that conquerors behave in the midst of a hostile population. It behaves in the way that autocratic governments have behaved from the beginning of time. **It rules not by consent but by force and craft.** Are American workmen satisfied to accept this type of dictatorship? Or do they prefer open, decent and self-respecting democracy? If they do prefer the latter, their salvation rests entirely upon their own foresight and energy.

# Steel's Lost Labor Leaders

*Story of the Men Who Left the Movement*

By JOHN A. FITCH

THE problem of what to do with an ex-president depends in part on what kind of ex-president he is. Something ought to be done about ex-presidents of the United States because they are tremendously dignified gentlemen who have rounded out their careers; which is a polite way of saying that they are unemployed and practically unemployable.

Whether the same thing is true of ex-presidents of labor unions depends upon the facts in each case. At best we do not as a rule have more than two former presidents of the United States on hand at any given time and it may be that is true of unions as a rule also. But there are some unions in which all the traditions seem to run against the rounding out of a career by serving the organization as its president. Instead, the presidency becomes a stepping-stone to other objectives.

An example of this is the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. In the forty-six years that this organization has been in existence it has had eight presidents, serving an average of five and three-quarters years each. The longest that any president served was eight years. Two did that. The terms of two were six years in length and of two others four years each. The present incumbent has served four years.

At the present time there are at least two ex-presidents living. Possibly more are still living, but there are not as many as there were a dozen years ago when there were five ex-presidents all in active service outside the labor movement. If we were to count Miles Humphreys, an ex-president of the Sons of Vulcan, which was the largest constituent element in the amalgamation in 1876, there were six of them, and nobody knows how many ex-vice-presidents and secretaries.

One significant thing about the history of the Amalgamated Association is that all of its presidents have retired while still in full possession of bodily and mental vigor. All but one retired voluntarily and for the purpose of engaging in some sort of activity outside the labor movement.

The following is a list of all of the presidents of the iron and steel workers' organization since 1875, together with their activities after laying down their offices.

### Where They Go

Going back to the days of the Sons of Vulcan, there was Miles Humphreys, who led an active life for thirty-five years after leaving the office of President sometime before 1876. He was a member of the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania and he ran for mayor of Pittsburgh in 1881. For a number of years he was chief of the Pennsylvania State Bureau of Industrial Statistics and for the last ten or fifteen years of his life he was chief of the fire department of the city of Pittsburgh. His death occurred somewhere about 1910.

The last president of the Sons of Vulcan and the first president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was Joseph Bishop. He retired from office in 1880 and he, too, was active for some thirty-five years after this time. For twenty or twenty-five years he was secretary of the Board of Arbitration of the State of Ohio. I have no recent information concerning him.

John Jarrett, who succeeded Bishop, was president of the Amalgamated Association from 1880 to 1884, during a part of the most flourishing period of its existence, when it was accounted one of the strongest labor unions in the United States, Jarrett was a delegate and presided over the first meeting in 1881 of what became in 1886 the American Federation of Labor. Leaving the labor movement in 1884, Jarrett continued to be active for a period of nearly thirty years. He was for a time secretary of the American Tin Plate Company, one of the concerns which later became a constituent part of the United States Steel Corporation. During the administration of President Benjamin Harrison, Jarrett was United States Consul at Birmingham, England. At the end of Harrison's term, he returned to Pittsburgh and engaged in business, in which he continued until his death, which occurred about the year 1912.

William Weihe, who served as president from 1884 to 1892, declined re-election after the disastrous Homestead strike of 1892. In that year he secured a position as inspector of immigration in New York, a position which he held until his death in the autumn of 1908.

During the period of 1892 to 1898 the president of the Amalgamated Association was M. M. Garland. In the latter year he resigned to accept an appointment from President McKinley as surveyor of the port of Pittsburgh. He held this of-

**YET GARY SAYS IT CAN'T BE DONE!**

*THE* **International Labour Review**—*published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations—for October, 1922, gives the following list of countries in which the eight-hour day (on a three-shift system) exists in the steel industry.*

**Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.**

*In introducing the list the* **Labour Review** *says: "The iron and steel industry in almost every country in Europe is now carried on under the three-shift system; the few exceptions are countries where the industry is unimportant. Outside Europe the three-shift system has been introduced in isolated cases in Canada, India, Japan, and South Africa. It is noteworthy that the great Tata Iron and Steel Works in India has adopted the system."*

fice continuously through the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations and through part of the administration of Mr. Taft. It was during Mr. Taft's incumbency that Mr. Garland was nominated for Congress on the Republican ticket. He was elected and served continuously until his death, which occurred about two years ago.

### The Rule's One Exception

Theodore Shaffer is the only president of the Amalgamated Association who has ever laid down his office involuntarily. He served from 1898 to 1906. It was during his incumbency that the ill-advised strike of 1901 took place, the results of which were damaging both to the organization and to the prestige of its president. He was defeated for re-election in 1906 and very little has been heard of him since. He dropped out of the labor movement but apparently did not transfer his activities either to politics or to the services of employers.

P. J. McArdle was elected in 1906 and held office until about the year 1912. About that time the government of the city of Pittsburgh was reorganized and brought under what amounts to a commission form of government. The commission consists of a council of nine members. McArdle withdrew from his office as president to become a candidate for membership in this council. He was elected, and is still in office.

The successor of McArdle was John Williams who held office for about six years, or until 1918. At that time he retired to become secretary of a steel manufacturers' association on the Pacific Coast.

Michael Tighe, who succeeded Williams, is still the president of the Amalgamated Association.

### The Movement's Loss

These facts are presented as a bit of trade union history. I do not present them with any intention of criticising the action of any of the retiring officials. The one thing that is worthy of notice and that gives significance to the record is the tremendous loss of human energy to the union movement involved in the retirement of these men who had grown experienced in its service.

Of the five men mentioned here, who retired voluntarily from union activity, it appears that two of them were active for thirty-five years after leaving office; one for twenty-eight years; one for twenty-two years and one for sixteen. **One hundred and thirty-six years of leadership was thus lost to the labor movement.**

It is no secret that the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is no longer a power in the steel industry. It began to slip before the Homestead strike of 1892. Since that time it has steadily gone down hill. It has not been even a minor factor in the steel industry proper since 1901. It appeared to enjoy something of a rejuvenation in 1918 and 1919, when its membership rose from 12,000 or so, to approximately 35,000. But this was a rejuvenation, not from within, but on acount of forces outside of itself for which it was not responsible and to which some of its officials were opposed. Since the strike of 1919 it has relapsed into innocuousness.

Did the presidents, whose names I have given, make a mistake in leaving this organization in order to take better jobs in industry or politics? Should they have made personal sacrifices in an effort, which might not have been successful, to make the organization effective? I do not know, any more than I know whether a country minister ought to refuse a call to a wealthy city church, in order that he may continue what seems to be successful, though ill-paid work in the country; or whether a college professor, who is not making enough to live on ought to turn down a good offer from the chamber of commerce, and continue his services to a hundred boys at an impressionable period in their lives. These are moral questions and moral questions are largely personal.

He who is without sin is entitled to sit in moral judgment on his neighbor. Sinners, however, may permit themselves a sigh over the long and difficult struggle to make democratic institutions effective.

# In the Wake of the Big Strike

## *What the Workers Thought Six Months After*

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

*WHAT was the situation in the steel region after the Big Strike of 1919? How did the workers feel? What was being told them? These questions will give an index to the obstacles to be overcome when the next big strike of steel workers takes place. Mr. Saposs carefully investigated these things six months after the strike had occurred—and this is the story as he jotted it down at that time.*

TO one who mingled with the rank and file during the big steel strike the present chaos and confusion among them is impressive. Then, there was the National Committee for Organizing the Iron and Steel Workers with its bulletins, speakers, and local secretaries to voice their thoughts and keep them informed. Now that it has been dissolved and the local offices closed, the former united mass has once more been sundered into thousands of atoms. With no access to channels of information, rumors and half truths thrive. In figuring out the trade union situation in their industry the individual workers are forced to rely upon these rumors and their own imagination.

Most of the immigrant workers with whom I talked did not know exactly what had happened to the "union." Some felt that it was still in existence but that the local secretary had gone on a vacation. Others thought that the strike was only temporarily declared off, and that it would be revived in the near future. Still others had a vague notion that for "strategic purposes" they were ordered to return to work but that the strike was still on. When asked to explain what this arrangement meant they were at a loss to find a reason. Since the Americans read the newspapers, they knew that the local office had been discontinued. Further than that, their view of the trade union situation in the steel industry was as hazy as that of the immigrant workers. Many were under the impression that Secretary Jay G. Brown, who succeeded Foster, and the National Committee for organizing the Iron and Steel Workers, had been temporarily transferred to the Pacific Northwest to organize the lumber workers.

### At the Mercy of the Liar

Under these circumstances, persons hostile to organized labor have a free hand in spreading whatever anti-union "information" they choose. For example: Former strikers and, of course, non-strikers are honestly of the opinion that Foster absconded with $75,000 or a larger sum. Some are positive that he had acquired a similar sum in organizing the stockyards workers. Not a few believe that he is now serving a ten year term in jail, for what offense they are unable to state. Through subtle insinuation, these rumors are now centering themselves around the thought that "this is what must be expected from labor organizers and leaders." Americans in the Pittsburgh district support this feeling by telling of their experience in previous strikes. Then, they claim, their leaders "sold out" or "pocketed" the funds of the union treasury. There being no one on the ground to "nail" these statements, they circulate as facts

These falsehoods are already bearing fruit. A feeling of despondency runs through the ranks of the workers. This is further accentuated by the fact that most of them used up their small savings or incurred debt during the 13 weeks strike. Many vow that they will never join a union again. This feeling manifests itself alike among the immigrants and Amercians.

There are undercurrents, however, which show that the steel companies cannot keep the workers under foot.

A small minority of intelligent workers look forward to future trade union action. Among the immigrant workers especially many proudly display their red, white and blue union cards, even to strangers who do not present proper credentials. But they are bitter at the betrayal by the Americans. They insist that in the next strike the Americans must take the lead. A good number even maintain that when the next strike is declared the immigrants will remain at work a day or two in order to assure themselves that the Americans are really out. If only after the Americans will have demonstrated that they are sincere will they join them.

### Americans and "Foreigners"

It is difficult to prophesy what success organized labor will have in winning over more of the Americans than they did in the last organizing

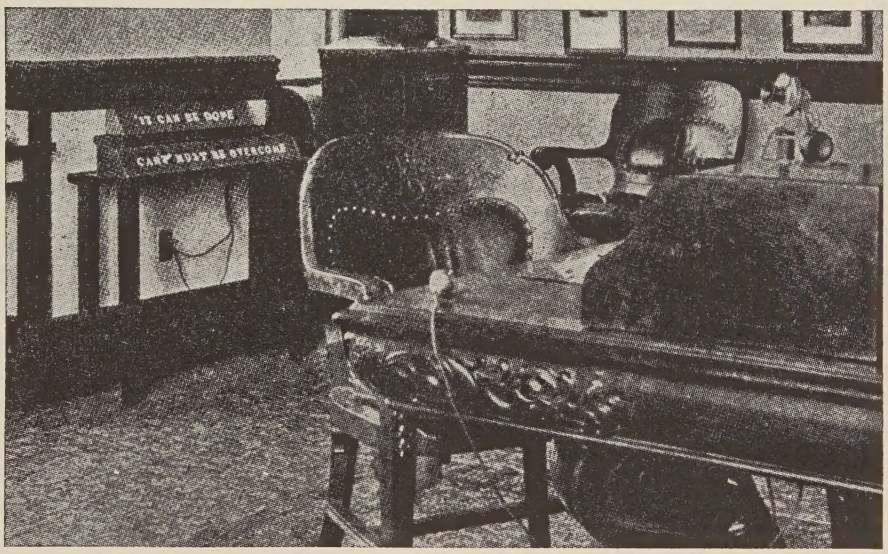
campaign. However, even the Americans who did not strike have a greater respect for the "foreigners." In the Pittsburgh district the Americans bitterly recalled that the immigrants were used as strike-breakers in previous strikes. To some extent this had influenced them in scorning the last organizing campaign. But now they are convinced that the immigrant is a good striker.

The Americans in this steel center, nevertheless, are still practically as unanimous against strike action as they were during the last strike. The steel companies seem to have surrounded them with an impenetrable intellectual quarantine. Not only did the local press side with the companies. Even the so-called English language labor papers proved zealous allies. Supplemented by an efficient spy system and the suppression of free assemblage, the American workers in this district have been kept "immune" from trade unionism. Past disastrous strikes also have proved helpful in strengthening this prejudice. **But there is much secret discontent and a properly directed campaign would win them back to labor's standards.**

Outside the Pittsburgh District the problem is not so difficult. Indeed, the Americans in the other steel centers would not believe that their fellow citizens of the Pittsburgh district did not respond freely to the strike call. They considered it newspaper lying. They had taken part in the strike quite generally and show the same symptoms as the immigrant workers. The great majority are discouraged, arguing that the steel corporations are invincible and that striking is useless. Others are of the opinion that the leaders are dishonest and have deserted them.

Because the Americans had largely joined the immigrants in the steel centers outside of Pittsburgh, little discrimination was practiced there when the workers returned to the mills. In the Pittsburgh District the workers who remained on strike any length of time were only re-employed as laborers. In the other districts where the Americans and immigrants joined hands the steel corporations did not dare, nor could they afford to resort to this drastic policy. With the exception of some of the leaders the strikers returned to their former jobs. It is also commonly conceded that the mills did not produce steel for at least the first six weeks of the strike, and many were crippled the entire strike period. There is an unconscious feeling among the immigrants and the Americans who struck that they had in this way demonstrated their power quite effectively against these giant corporations. With this attitude of mind it is merely a question of an opportune time, and leadership in which they have confidence, when they will again be ready to lock horns with their employers.

**TRY THIS ON THE 8-HOUR DAY IN STEEL!**




**The magazine "System", for January, 1923, runs the above picture of Judge Gary's office with the statement that "the most important piece of furniture" in this office is the electrical contrivance shown in the picture. When Judge Gary presses a button, this contrivance flashes "It can be done. Can't must be overcome". Coue has nothing on Judge Gary!**

## THE PRESENT STEEL STRIKE

### Gallant Fight of Strikers at Newport, Kentucky

**By ROGER N. BALDWIN**

*(Do you know that there is a steel strike on at the present time? The men, left largely to their own resources, have fought one of the most brilliant fights in American labor history. The following statement by Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union —who has just returned from Newport—gives a vivid picture of what these men are up against and what they have done.)*

*ONE of the most significant strikes which I have happened personally to witness is that of the steel workers at Newport, Kentucky—now going for over eighteen months and going strong. I went over to Newport recently and saw the group of men who are running the strike, with the morale unbroken, the relief entirely adequate and the mills seriously crippled. It is significant because the men who are running it are a local committee without outside help of any sort. They are men right out of the furnaces who have developed an extraordinary capacity for leadership.*

*Although the 1,500 strikers are members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, they have not asked help from their national office and no national organizer has anything to do with the conduct of the strike.*

*The causes of the strike are unusual. The Amalgamated is an industrial union. They had a contract with the Newport Rolling Mills and the Andrews Steel Co. The men struck because the companies refused to recognize certain workers as union men. Recognition of the union is the sole issue. There is no question of hours or wages.*

*The strikers have been up against extraordinary obstacles in the eighteen months they have fought their battle. They have bucked the state militia with its machine guns, rifles and an unparalleled display of force. They have put out of business politicians who opposed them. They elected to Congress on an independent ticket the local secretary of the Maintenance of Waymen, who had had no previous political background or experience. All the local officials are withthe strikers.*

*Although 1,500 workers have been out for eighteen months, most of them have managed to find odd jobs or some other employment, and the relief has been running only about $800.00 a week. Fifty families are being taken care of altogether, and scattering individuals besides. They made $12,000 last year on a bazaar held in the Roman Catholic Church at Newport. They have spent altogether about $60,000 on relief. The strikers meet every Monday night in the hall of the Catholic Church Parish House, to hear a speech from someone in the labor movement and to solve their problems together. These men are indeed made of the real stuff!*

#### Power of Local Leaders

This undercurrent of interest in unionism is best shown by the outcropping of local leaders among the various nationalities. These leaders consist of men and women who held minor and non-paying official positions, or who otherwise actively took part in the strike. The workers who still maintain an interest in unionism look upon them as the best source of information. They are besieged daily for news of the status of the "union." Naturally they have very little information to give, but are holding out hope. It is these leaders who will determine in the future what trade union affiliations the steel workers will make. They are looked upon as the men and women possessing wisdom and foresight; and their word will be law.

In the last organizing campaign the steel workers were ready to accept whatever leadership presented itself, as they knew little or nothing of any organization or leaders. In any forthcoming campaign they will turn to their chosen local leaders for guidance. For the present the American Federation of Labor is making no effort to maintain contact with these local leaders.

#### Strike Education

The more alert labor leaders have generally recognized that a strike acts as an intellectual ferment. In an unorganized industry a strike focuses for the first time the attention of the great mass of workers upon industrial and social problems. It directs their thoughts into new channels and leads them to reflect upon their social condition. Similarly, the steel strike proved of great educational value. But this awakening should have been followed up with educational work. Failure to do so gave every enemy of unionism an unobstructed field, upon which to slander and libel organized labor and its leaders. In the absence of leadership, to voice the ideas of the rank and file, they again become disunited individuals—at the mercy of the insinuations and propaganda of the corporations. In the meantime, contact is also lost with the local "active spirits" who are the medium through which the national leaders and organization must work.

Based on past experience, Foster foresaw this danger and advised that a skeleton organization be maintained in order to carry on educational work. It was a fatal mistake to ignore his advice. The National Committee succeeded beyond expectation in gripping the imagination of the rank and file and their immediate local leaders. It had won their confidence and good will. It had stirred their deepest emotions. To them the National Committee had become a living symbol of their collective powers and aspirations. Now it suddenly vanished, leaving them bewildered and despondent.

# "The Diary of a Furnace Worker"

By JOHN A. FITCH

THE "blowing in" of a blast furnace is a dramatic proceeding. There is nothing casual about it. For, once the fuel inside is lit and the blast turned on and the iron ore in the great hundred-foot stack begins to melt, a process has begun that will go on continuously, day and night, for years, without any stop.

So it was that when Charles R. Walker,—Yale man of recent vintage, more recently lieutenant in the A. E. F.,—in his first civilian job as common laborer in the steel industry attended a "blowing in," he found it quite a ceremony. The men knocked off work and gathered around. The bosses came, big and little, including the "G. M.," and with the latter "Mr. Clark from Pittsburgh" who was to light the shavings that were to start the furnace on its long career.

"Mr. Clark was a tall slender person with glasses and an aspect of unfamiliarity with a blast-furnace environment. No one knew, or ever found out, who he was. Mr. Swenson showed him, very carefully, how to ignite the shavings with a teapot lamp. Twice the photographer, who had come early, got focused for the awful moment, and twice Mr. Clark deferred lighting the shavings and went on talking with Mr. Swenson. Finally he bent over and lit them. Mr. Swenson rapidly turned to the gang behind him.

" 'Three cheers for Mr. Clark!' he cried, raising his hand. When it is recalled that none of us knew the man we cheered, it wasn't a bad noise."

Thus in his book, "Steel, The Diary of a Furnace Worker," does Walker sum up one aspect of the prevailing atmosphere of the steel industry—an atmosphere where men and management are so far apart that nothing is thought of staging a drama, bringing in a hero from Pittsburgh and asking for cheers for him without ever bothering to tell who he is!

In the same way, just by sketching the outline of a picture here and there, Walker reveals one aspect after another of steel, until at the end you have a story of the human investment in this great industry as it never has been told before.

### The Human Hunky

It wasn't to study and write that Walker went into the steel industry after getting out of khaki, but to learn the business. But he came with a seeing eye, and an interest in other men as fellow creatures, and in his book he tells what he saw.

He saw the Hunky as a human being, for one thing, especially when Nick, the Serbian second-helper, under whom he worked at first, began "yelling things in Anglo-Serbian" at him. He couldn't understand and he did the wrong thing. Then there was more yelling.

"This is amusing enough on the first day," says Walker. "You can go off and laugh in a superior way to yourself about the queer words the foreigners use, but after seven days of it, fourteen hours each, it gets under the skin. It burns along the nerves, as the furnace heat burns along the arms when you make back-wall. It suddenly occurred to me one day, after someone had bawled me out picturesquely for not knowing where something was that I had never heard of, that this was what every immigrant hunky endured; it was a matter of language largely, of understanding, of knowing the names of things, the uses of things, the language of the boss. Here was this Serbian second-helper bossing his third-helper largely in an unknown tongue, and the latter getting the full emotional experience of the immigrant."

Undoubtedly the clearest picture that remains in the reader's mind regarding the steel industry is that of an industry of long hours and great weariness; an industry in which men go slow so that they can last through all the long hours of the day's work. There were the admonitions to take it "eas," there were the reminders that there is "lotza time before seven o'clock." They are strong men who work in the steel industry as a rule but when Walker looked at them going home at the end of the shift, "Every face carried yesterday's fatigue and last year's. Now and then I saw a man who looked as if he could work a turn and then box a little in the evening for exercise. There were a few men like that. The rest made me think strongly of a man holding himself from falling over a cliff, with fingers that paralyze slowly."

### "Benefits" of the 12-Hour Day

Walker answers the old question about whether the twelve-hour day is a day of work or of idleness. He sums it up in a single paragraph.

"Briefly, you don't work every minute of those twelve hours. Besides the delays that arise out

of the necessities of furnace work, men automatically scale down their pace when they know there are twelve or fourteen hours ahead of them; seven or eight hours of actual swinging of sledge or shovel. But some of the extra time is utterly necessary for immediate recuperation after a heavy job or a hot one. And none of the spells, it should be noticed, are 'your own time.' You are under strain for twelve hours. Nerves and will are the company's the whole shift—whether the muscles in your hands and feet move or are still. And the existence of the long day makes possible unrelieved labor, hard and hot, the whole turn of fourteen hours, if there is need for it."

**It is impossible to reproduce the picture that he gives you of the long shift; the twenty-four hour turn that came to the blast furnace worker every second week.** He has told that story in a single chapter without a word of exaggeration, without laboring for effect in a single sentence. By the means of simple, direct, commonplace narrative, he has told a story that holds you with dramatic intensity from beginning to end. When you have read that chapter, you know something about the twenty-four hour shift in steel.

Of course, on the alternate week end, between the Sundays of the "long turn" there is a period of twenty-four hours off duty. What that amounts to is also made clear.

" 'I only wish it were next Sunday!' I said to someone.

" 'There aren't any goddam Sundays in this place,' he returned. 'Twenty-four hours off between two working days ain't Sunday'."

### A Holiday Not A Holiday

"I thought that over. The company says they give you one day off every two weeks. But it's not like a day off anywhere else. It's twenty-four hours sandwiched between two work-days. You finish your night-week at 7:00 Sunday morning, having just done a week of one twenty-four hour shift, and six fourteens. You've got all the time from then till the next morning! Hurrah! How will you use it? If you do the normal thing—eat breakfast, and go to bed for eight hours,—that brings you to 5:00 o'clock. Will you stay up all night? You've had your sleep. Yes, but there's a ten-hour turn coming at 7:00. You go to bed at 11:00, to sleep up for your turn. There's an evening out of it! Hurrah again! But who in hell does the normal thing? Either you go on a tear for twenty-four hours,—you only have it twice a month,—or you sleep the twenty-four if the week's been a bad one. Or—and this is common in Bouton—you get sore at the system and stay away a week—if you can afford it."

Such a set of conditions is reflected in the thinking of the men. "Upon the whole," says Walker, "there was pretty good feeling toward the company itself, which is, I believe, one of the best. A deep-seated hatred, however, existed against the whole system of steel. There was anger and resentment that ran straight through, from the cinder-snapper to the high-paid blowers, melters, and, in some cases, to the superintendents."

Walker doesn't philosophize very much about it. He took a day off once to rest and think it over and he climbed a hill where he could look down over the whole steel plant. He thought of the importance of steel. It seemed to him the prop upon which civilization hangs, a civilization which rests "upon muscle and the will to push through long turns."

"What if the habitual movements of the muscles were broken, or the will fallen into distemper? Suppose men thought it not worth the candle, and stopped to look on? Were we to get more of the kind of civilization we knew, conquer more ground, or have less of it? It depends on the battle. And that hung, I was sure, on the morale of the fighter. I wondered if it wasn't cracking badly— ."

### "No Can Live"

At another time, when Walker was not philosophizing, he spoke to a fellow-laborer, an Italian third-helper, with whom he had been shoveling manganese into ladles of molten steel.

"The ladle swung slightly closer to the gallery than usual, and sent up a bit more gas and sparks. We put out little fires on our clothes six or seven times. After the first ladle, the Italian put back the sheet iron over the red-hot spout, and after the second ladle, I put it on. We rested between ladles, in a little breeze that came through between furnaces."

" 'What you think of this job' he asked."

" 'Pretty bad'," I said, " 'but pretty good money'."

He looked up and the veins swelled on his forehead. His cheeks were inflamed, and his eyes showed the effects of the twenty-four hours of continuous labor."

" 'To hell with the money!' he said, with quiet passion; 'no can live'."

There's the story. It doesn't make you very proud. But after all, the United States doesn't stand alone in this matter. In India and China, too, they have the double-shift in steel.

# Mr. Olds to the Rescue

*Marshall Rushes In Where the Steel Trust Fears to Tread*

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THERE was a huge animal in the ancient world, the scientists tell us, which had used force so much that it forgot how to use its brains. It was called the Dinosaur. In the modern world we can present our own Dinosaur for history's pages—the United States Steel Corporation. Unfortunate has it been in its silences on embarrassing attacks made on it, and equally unfortunate in the choice it has made of its champions and spokesmen.

Damning, for example, was the indictment brought against the Steel Trust and its allies by the Interchurch World Movement, in its Report on the Big Strike. " S-t-e-e-l "—that report showed—spells Industrial Autocracy. Sixty per cent of the workers at the plants of the Carnegie Company were on the 12-hour day, the President of that Company admitted to the Commission. Unionism was denied—at the point of the pistol, through the control of steel guards, state police, local city and village officials, the newspapers, and the local clergy. It was an ugly picture in a country based on "democracy", which even wars for "democracy"—buying millions of dollars of weapons from the Steel Kings to use in said war.

Three years have passed since that report was first published. But the Steel Trust has said not a word in all that time to refute its evidence and findings. Of course—in typical Steel Trust fashion—an attempt was made to suppress the report. Rich "servants of the Lord" let it be known that they would not pay their big money pledges to the Interchurch Movement if it published this disagreement with the sacred methods of the Profit Makers. The Report was published — and the money was not paid. That was a great victory for religion in the American churches.

Then came to the rescue of the silent and suffering Corporation the Reverend E. Victor Bigelow, a New England clergyman. He justified the 12-hour day (which he himself worked, of course) on the text: "I must work the works of Him who sent me." The Steel Trust thought so well of this text that it distributed 1,200,000 copies of the pamphlet—before it discovered that Mr. Bigelow was more of a liability than an asset. Next came C. L. Patterson, of the National Association of Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers. His was a "Review of the Interchurch Report" which the solicitor for the Steel Trust proceeded to distribute. But the **New York World** exposed Mr. Patterson's statements as libelous. The Steel Trust—in a nightmare of fear that it would lose some of its $500,000,000 surplus in a law court—hurried to withdraw the booklet from circulation. Gloomy silence again fell upon Pittsburgh and Wall Street.

Now, in this month of January, 1923, there comes a new champion into the lists. It is none other than the blundering author of "The High Cost of Strikes", one Marshall Olds. A sort of "inferiority complex" shows itself in Marshall, as a result of that first amusing book. On the front wrapper of his new effort appears not only his own name but the following array of names and titles, to frighten the reader into submission before he opens the book: "Foreword by Jeremiah W. Jenks, Ph.D., LL.D., Research Professor of Government and Public Administration, New York University. Edited as to the law involved in labor controversies by Murray T. Quigg, B.A., LL.B., Editor 'Law and Labor'. Edited as to detailed accuracy of citations, quotations, and statistics by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants."

Errors came so thick and fast in "The High Cost of Strikes" that George Soule, the economist, required four columns in the **Nation** merely to state and refute briefly Marshall's mistakes in one chapter of that book. For example, out of 22 articles of diet listed by the United States Department of Labor, the Enemy of Strikes chooses 3, to show that strikes are the sole causes of high food prices. Two of these articles were sugar and potatoes, and the other that immensely popular food, tuna fish. As a matter of fact, the strikes occurred at a time when the sugar and potatoes were not being shipped, and therefore could not affect the prices of these articles. But a little thing like that did not trouble Marshall. He was making facts to order.

Experience, his new book shows, has taught him very little. His past work as publicity agent for clothing and coal employers qualifies him to rig up a typical Steel defense. His fact-finding sense leads him to refer to "Big Bill" Haywood as "Heywood"—evidently confusing the I. W. W.

leader with Mr. Daugherty's New York District Attorney. Mrs. Willard D. Straight—of the Payne Whitneys—is always Mrs. D. Willard Straight, and "notoriously radical."

When he gets down to the facts and figures in the Interchurch report, he pants and sweats — and dodges more than ever. The Interchurch Report shows that in the Pittsburgh District "steel common labor has the lowest rate of pay of the trades for which there are separate statistics for laborers." Mr. Olds forgets all about the "Pittsburgh District" and makes it appear as though this statement were made for the whole country. He also takes the church people to task for not using a bulletin on common laborers—which appeared after their report was published! What the Interchurch Commission points out, of course, in a clear and effective way is that the so-called "high wages" in the steel industry are really a delusion—because they are the result of twelve hours work. This hard and long work makes men lay off for long periods of time. It wears them out for long life in the industry.

The Steel Trust's champion also quarrels with the idea of a living wage. He thinks it absurd that this wage should be based on the necessities of a full family, when such a family only exists during ten years of married life. Before and after that all the children are not dependent on their parents. What Marshall would like to see—at least while looking through the Steel Trust's glasses — is father and mother and unmarried brothers and sisters straining themselves to earn enough to feed themselves and the growing children. Well, all the American churches disagree with him and the Steel Trust there. Common-sense people can take their choice. The workers will have no trouble about the matter at all.

But these are not the worst blows prepared for the erring brethren of the Interchurch Movement. Of the 475 pages hurled at their heads, fully 300 are devoted to an exposé of their "radicalism." The author prepares us for confidence as to his accuracy in such charges by imputing that Bishop McConnell and the other members of the Commission are liars when they quote President Williams of the Carnegie Company on the 8-hour day. This is done without even a peep from Williams himself on the matter.

In order to show the Commission's radicalism, he has of course to fasten this terrible crime upon the Secretary of the Commission, Captain Heber Blankenhorn. In this way does he do it:

"Mr. Foster, the hero of the Report, is a member of the No. 1 Communist governing organization, in constant touch with Moscow. As member of the Federated press he is in constant touch with Mr. Blankenhorn, who wrote the Interchurch Report, and Mr. Bruere, the head of its technical assistants. Blankenhorn and Bruere in turn, in their Bureau of Industrial Research, are in touch with the trade unions, social organizations, college socialist societies, and the like, to which they supply data and material. Through common membership in the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, Foster is in active touch with James H. Maurer, who furnished most of the Interchurch 'rock-bottom' affidavits, and Maurer in turn is president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, a subordinate organization of the American Federation of Labor. Through the same organization Foster is in touch with Baldwin whose assistants are seeking from the courts a new interpretation of the principles of freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage, which will destroy the power of the Government to protect itself and its citizens against propaganda for the overthrow of our government by force and violence."

Interesting exposé of interlocking radical directorates! — of course, full of mistakes. But why not do it this way, with equal truth:

"Mr. Foster, the hero of the report . . . is in active touch with James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, an important part of the American Federation of Labor, whose President, Mr. Samuel Gompers, is a member of the National Civic Federation. The Civic Federation lists among its more important members, Mr. Oscar Strauss, Mr. Harris Weinstock (San Francisco); Mr. Marshall Field; Mr. Ogden Mills; Mr. Daniel Willard and Mr. George Reynolds, all closely associated with financial and banking interests of this country. It is easily seen that through these interlocking directorates it is not only possible, but to be expected that W. Z. Foster should exert a constant influence upon the financiers, not only of Wall Street but of the money centers of Chicago, Washington, Baltimore and San Francisco."

The fact is—which Marshall and the Steel Trust know well enough—that these charges of radicalism have been made before and have fallen flat. Malcolm Jennings, of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, made similar charges; but was compelled to withdraw them in a written statement. This appears in "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike"—supplementary report to the Interchurch Commission. A committee, headed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (think of that!), also investigated the Commission and declared them not radical.

If you wish to see a stupid piece of propaganda and do not wish to pay $4.00 for it, write to Mr. F. R. Sites, Secretary to E. H. Gary, Chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation, at the Corporation's New York offices, 71 Broadway, and he will probably send you a copy free. He promised to do this for a friend of ours, in a letter in which he stated that "we are looking forward with interest to seeing the first copy within a week or two."

## *Molten Ore*

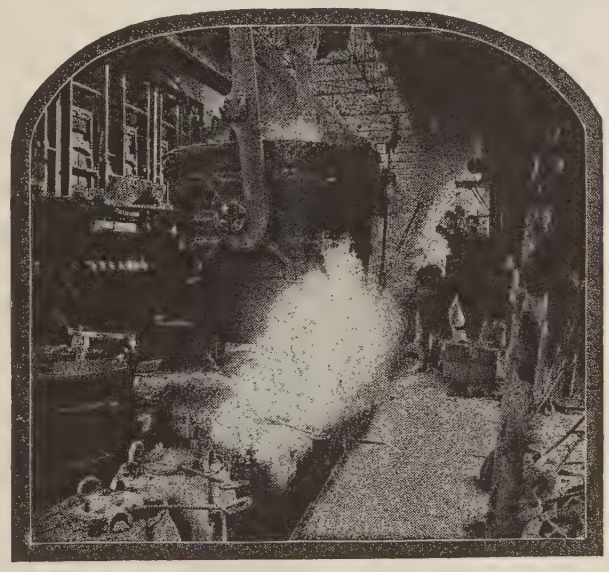
*OUT of a huge ladle pours a stream of red-hot steel. There has been a mistake somewhere. Five or six, or a dozen men are caught by the boiling stream and swallowed up in it. In a moment there is nothing left of them—even their bones have become part of the molten mass.*

*That is the way that men—the workers—sometimes die in Steel. In much the same way, on a bigger scale, are all of the steel makers crushed and ground up into nothing by the huge machine—the Steel Trust—erected by Carnegie and Morgan.*

*They work in constant danger. At any time this hot stream may fall upon them. Often their clothes catch fire from the flying sparks. The temperature is hellish in its intensity. Were Dante writing his "Inferno" today, he could find in the steel mills a fitting scene for his home of the eternally damned.*

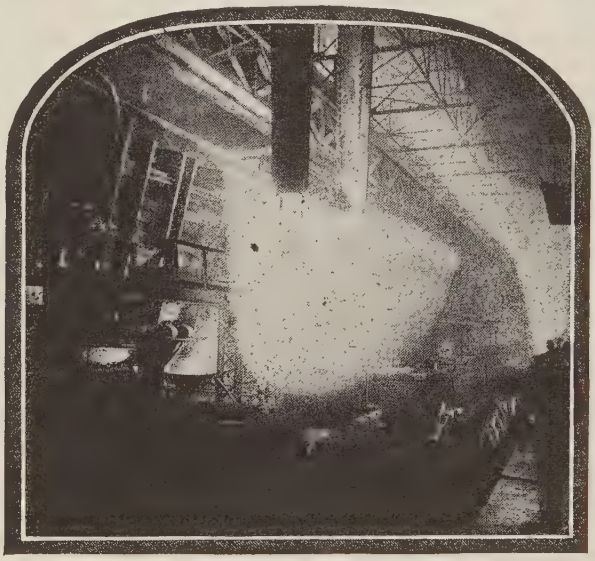
*And the men who control steel have damned their workers with endless toil—to a twelve, fourteen and twenty-four hour day. The story of what that means is told simply, but eloquently, by Charles R. Walker in his* **"Diary of a Furnace Worker,"** *reviewed by John Fitch in this issue.*

*But the Steel Kings have not been satisfied with that. They have reached out into other industries, all over the country, to crush the organizations of the workers. They are the moving spirits in the big anti-*



*Paul Thompson.*

**Filling Moulds with Steel**



*Paul Thompson.*

**Pouring Steel into the Ladle**

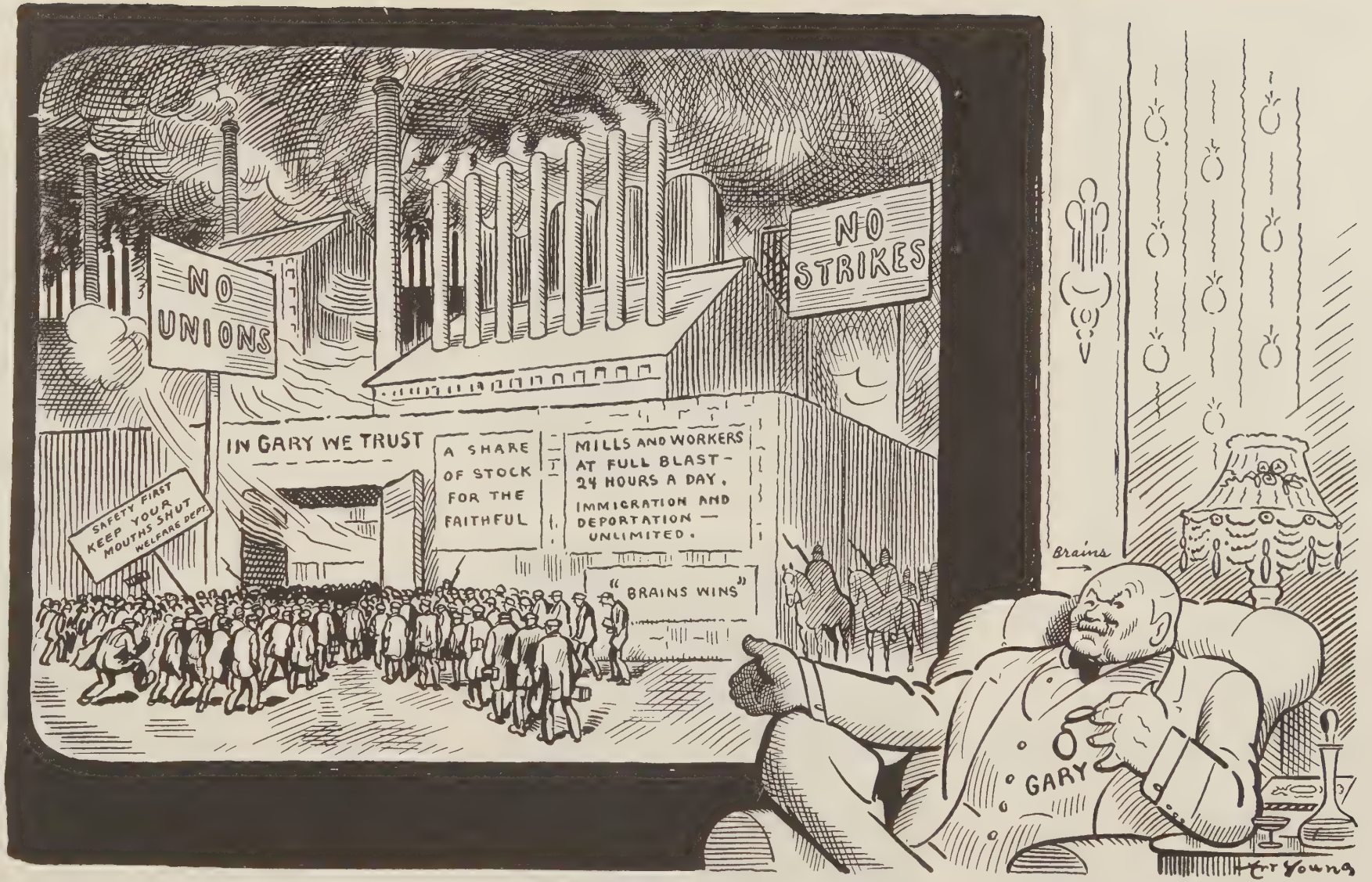
**VIEWS OF A PITTSBURGH INFERNO**

*union drive. Their fangs extend everywhere, as Brother Hannon shows. They have gone onto the Great Lakes to crush the seamen, into the building industry, into coal and coke, into practically every industry in which men work—to attack the unions and make all the workers as helpless as the steel makers are.*

*Here is one bit of evidence—out of a great mass—that shows the Steel Trust's war on all American labor. It is from the report of the Lockwood Housing Committee of New York State, which cannot be accused of too much love for unionism:*

*"The struggle of the United States Steel Company, the Bethlehem Steel Company and other manufacturers of steel throughout the United States to enforce the recognition of the so-called 'Open Shop' principle not only in their own plants but in every building job in which structural steel is used, has led to many pernicious results. The proof put before your Committee establishes that the so-called 'Open Shop' as enforced by the Steel Companies in all their ramifications is neither more nor less than a non-Union shop. . . . A vast spying system is maintained both in the Steel Companies and in the Unions, as a result of which men who are found to be active in the Unions are discovered and deprived of work."*

*There is no greater challenge than this to American Labor. There can be only one answer to it—merciless war on these Chiefs of the Profit Makers until they are beaten.* **Unionism must win Steel.** *It is, as Walker says,* **"the basic industry."** *When it is captured, then will the job of taking over Coal and Railways and other industries by the workers be a comparatively easy task.*


NO UNIONS
NO STRIKES
IN GARY WE TRUST
A SHARE OF STOCK FOR THE FAITHFUL
MILLS AND WORKERS AT FULL BLAST — 24 HOURS A DAY.
IMMIGRATION AND DEPORTATION — UNLIMITED.
SAFETY FIRST KEEP YOUR MOUTHS SHUT WELFARE DEPT.
"BRAINS WINS"
Brains
GARY
Hor Young

I. P. E. U. 624

**GARY'S VISION OF AN IDEAL WORLD**

**As presented by U. S. Steel Films, Inc.**

# "What Will He Do With It?"

*Question Asked on Victory of Farmer-Labor Giant—Conferences' Answer*

By THE LABOR PRESS

"PROGRESSIVE" is a title again almost in good repute. The theory of the Harding-Hoover-Hughes regime that the world never moves, except backwards, has been scornfully rejected by the American electorate. In the new Congress which gets into action before 1923 is over, "the Progressive Bloc" led by Robert M. LaFollette will hold the balance of power. In a great number of state legislatures the voices of the Farmer-Labor forces will be heard with more respect (i.e., with more volume), than ever before. Altogether, says the **National Leader,** organ of the National Non-Partisan League, 950 candidates were elected to office in the West last November, either as the direct candidates of the Farmer-Labor forces or as candidates endorsed by the farmers and labor.

But this result, the **Minnesota Daily Star** warns us, must not be taken too literally as a conscious victory of the combined producers on the land and in the workshop. It "includes states like Wisconsin where the progressive landslide was not consciously Farmer-Labor in the main, and Iowa where progressive farmers on the one hand and progressive laborites on the other worked separately for the election of Brookhart." But all over the country, as the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal** states, it marked "a great progressive gain." And Senator LaFollette, in his "New Year Message to American Labor" in the **American Federationist,** expressed the belief that "the congressional elections of this year were in many respects the most important since those which occurred more than half a century ago, in which the tide was turned against further extension of human slavery."

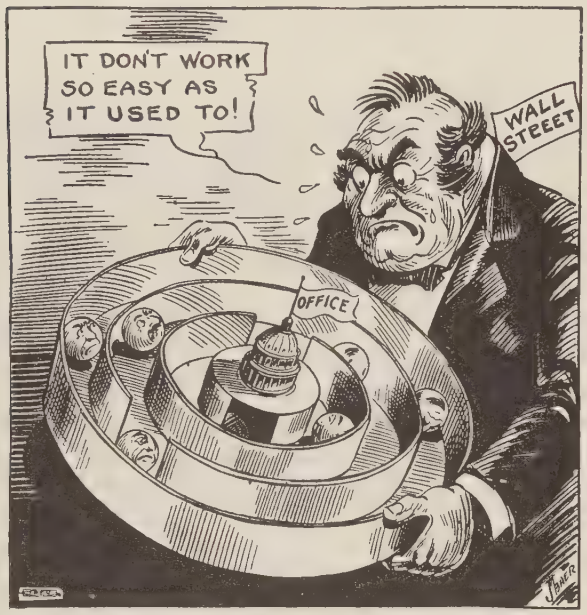
Now that the Farmer-Labor giant has won this victory, what will he do with it? Smith W. Brookhart, the new Senator from Iowa, also writing in the **Federationist,** thinks that "the next national issue should be made for the control of credit, and especially for the control of the Federal Reserve Bank," while Henrik Shipstead, new Farmer-Labor Senator from Minnesota, says that something must be done to remedy the situation whereby "the farmer is paying with the loss of his farm, the business man with bankruptcy and the laborer is paying with having a government by injunction taking the place of a government by law." Senator Brookhart's statements are particularly interesting at a time when the extension of labor banks is frowned upon by the present administration.

The most definite answer to the question was given by the two Progressive Conferences which took place in December—the first in Washington, the second in Cleveland. The Washington Conference was called by the **Peoples' Legislative Service,** of which Senator LaFollette is chairman. Its keynote was sounded by "Fighting Bob" at its opening session, "to prepare legislation, to drive out special interests, and to proceed slowly and sanely in that direction." Thirteen Senators and 25 representatives attended this conference and formed themselves into a "Peoples' Bloc" to push its program. In this program everything was studiously avoided which would seem to go too far forward, in accordance with LaFollette's recommendation that "we are not seeking to accomplish everything at one stroke." The things particularly stressed had to do with elective machinery: the abolition of the electoral college; direct election of President and Vice-President; enactment of a real federal corrupt practices act. They also urged the immediate release of all political prisoners and agreed that a further legislative and economic program should be drawn up and submitted to another conference to be called later in Washington.

As was predicted in the last issue of LABOR AGE, the Cleveland gathering—the second National Conference on Progressive Political Action—was much influenced by what took place at Washington. It also drew up a program—bearing a close resemblance to the Washington declaration. And it likewise rejected the proposal for a third party, which proved to be its storm center.

The Cleveland Conference has aroused much discussion in the Labor Press. According to the **Machinists' Monthly Journal** it will go down in history as a great success. Its merit, declares that journal, was that it "wasted little time listening to outbursts of rhetoric or lengthy arguments on every subject under the sun. It got

down to business at once" and "did several things and did them well." **Labor,** the rail unions' weekly, agrees with this estimate. The Conference, in its opinion, was "in many respects the most representative political gathering in the United States." It did well to "frown on the third party talk" and to "continue along the non-partisan lines which proved so successful in this year's campaign."




**The Progressives Have Balked Wall Street's Little Game, thinks John Baer, the Congressman-Cartoonist.**

Grand Chief Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in the journal of that union, views the results of the conference as a "step further" in the "work of reclaiming the government of this country for the people." He further says:

"The most important fact of the Conference was not the decisions reached, but the achievement of bringing together a large group of delegates representing every known party and political reform known in the country, and getting them to sink their individual opinions and small differences in order to unite on a common platform, containing the essential principles of good government."

On the "third party" action, he thinks:

The Conference unquestionably did the wisest thing in refusing to desert the progressive legislators in both old parties whom it helped to elect in the recent election. The success already achieved is largely due to the support of the best man for each office, regardless of his party label."

His own journal — though it "questions the wisdom" of the expulsion of the Workers' Party delegates—thinks that on the whole:

"The legislative union of farmers' and workers' representatives achieved by the Washington conference and the parallel political union ratified at Cleveland may well mean more for the future of America than any single event since the Declaration of Independence. The producers of the nation joined battle with the forces of exploitation, reaction and special privilege. With such a union of progressive forces the victory of the people is assured."

It is interesting to note the reaction of the Socialist delegates to the Conference. James Oneal, editor of the **New York Call,** writing in that paper, says "the one thing that was apparent at the Conference was a common view that the two parties of capitalism are the enemies of the farmers and wage workers." Nevertheless, he finds that "with the best intentions" the Conference was affected with "a certain timidity, capable of being swayed from one position to another without regard to any fundamental outlook." On the third party question, he states that none of the big unions represented, except the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, were fully prepared for independent political action. This shows, he says,

"The utter folly of those committed to an independent party of the workers withdrawing to some little corner and organizing a party of their own. They would leave the great organized mass behind, and, without the mass, the resolution would not be worth a Polish mark. This situation was understood by the Socialist delegation from the beginning."

The Socialist delegates, he explains, also favored the non-seating of the Workers' Party representatives, not because they were "un-American", as Chairman Edward Keating had stated, but because of "their disruptive tactics." All through he pleads for "patience" and "willingness to wage an educational campaign" in the state branches of the Conference, for those favoring a Labor Party.

The **Milwaukee Leader,** Socialist daily, is inclined to think the Conference "disappointing," because of its third party stand and its failure to come out stronger for public ownership and measures of that sort. This is also the view of the Twin City labor papers. **The Minnesota Union Advocate,** organ of the St. Paul central body, declares that what American labor needs is a party along the lines of the British Labor Party. It thinks that in the United States "a similar crisis has arisen" as that which gave birth to the British movement. In its opinion,

"The hour has struck for the launching of a great political movement with vision and intelligence to assume lea-

dership in the great crisis that now confronts the American people and the producing classes, who are the chief victims of capitalistic incompetency and ineptitude, must constitute the mass of this movement.

"It may not triumph the first time nor for a number of contests, but it can build continously so that when the day of triumph does come failure and relapse will not ensue.

"The time for playing politics has passed, and the day for serious action has arrived."

In Minnesota conferences are already on foot to put on a permanent basis the independent Farmer-Labor combination which captured the United States Senatorship in November. In the neighboring state of Wisconsin the Socialists are in the same position in the legislature as the La-Follette group are in the Congress. Victor Berger states in the **Milwaukee Leader** that this group will "use this power to promote genuinely progressive and socialistic measures." He also says that it must be understood that the Socialists have very little in common with the LaFollette progressives who politically "are all part of the same capitalist herd." The Farmer-Labor Party nationally is also preparing to take aggressive steps toward further extension of its activities, according to the **New Majority,** its official organ. And Joseph Schlossberg, editor of **Advance,** organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, thinks that "if the Labor Party idea will develop and crystalize into a real independent working class political movement it will not be because of the Cleveland Conference."

But the **Oregon Labor Press,** organ of the Portland Central Labor Council, quotes with approval the following summing up from the **Nation:**

"It might seem as if such a cautious conference had accomplished nothing. That would be a mistaken impression. It did not give birth to a new party, but until the railroad men are ready to take the plunge there is little use in lesser groups breaking the traces. This conference did strengthen the cement which is binding together the farmers and workers of this country, and laying the foundation for a producers' party. There was no jealousy between farmers and city laborers. They had worked together in the last election and they intended to continue working together."

In the meantime, writes William Hard in the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal,**

"The Administration is in the position of a young man who, having thought that a certain young lady was only an ugly wall-flower, discovers suddenly that she is an heiress. He proceeds to bankrupt himself on presents to win her favor and fortune.

"The bankruptcy in this case can be analyzed as follows:

**PROGRAM FOR PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL ACTION**

**(Adopted at Cleveland, Dec. 11-14, 1922.)**

**On behalf of the producers and consumers we demand—**

**1. The repeal of the Cummins-Esch railroad law and operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people. The public control of water power in the interest of the people.**

**2. The direct election of the President and Vice-President by the people and extension of direct primary laws in all states.**

**3. That Congress end the practice of the courts to declare legislation unconstitutional.**

**4. Enactment of the Norris-Sinclair Consumers and Producers' Financing Corporation bill, designed to increase prices farmers receive and reduce prices consumers pay for farm products, and the creation of an independent system of food producers' credits.**

**5. Increased tax rates on large incomes and inheritances and payment of a soldiers' bonus by restoring the tax on excess profits.**

**6. Legislation providing minimum essential standards of employment for women; equality for women and men while improving existing political, social and industrial standards, and state action to insure maximum benefit of federal maternity and infancy acts.**

**RESOLVED, That the Conference for Progressive Political Action as a leading factor in securing the election of progressive United States Senators and members of the House request such members to act as a People's Bloc and to work for the People's Progressive program, and that the chairman and secretary of this conference call such progressive members together as soon as the new Congress convenes to organize them for effective action.**

**On motion of Morris Hillquit of New York the national committee of the conference was authorized to add to the platform planks dealing with the conditions of the coal industry, federal provision against child labor, amnesty for political prisoners, safeguarding civil rights, definition of the rights of organized labor, opposition to financial imperialism.**

**The convention unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the suggestion of the Harding administration that all aliens in this country be compelled to register. It was agreed that this was a poorly camouflaged scheme by the employing interests to harass the workers.**

"The Administration, in order to win the favor of the farmers, is obliged to promote three developments which play directly into the hands of its progressive opponents.

"It is obliged to promote the co-operative movement. It is obliged in the field of agriculture—on behalf of farmers desiring a more assured supply of credit—to weaken the system of speculative banking and to promote a new growth of a solider investment banking under governmental encouragement. And finally, in order to press forward toward a better railroad service and a lower railroad cost for farm products, it is obliged to contemplate new restrictions on the liberties and on the profits of speculative railroad management, and is seen turning its face toward the prospect of giving the American railroad system its necessary new equipment not through the enterprise of the railroad management but through governmental action calling on the funds of the ultimate investing public."

**(The Labor Press, as shown by the above digest, has covered the Conferences from so many different angles, that comment by our representative—promised for this issue—is made unnecessary.)**

# Why We Struck In Somerset

## *II. The Struggle*

By Albert ARMSTRONG

*THE manuscript of this little labor classic—the first part of which appeared in the last issue—was obtained by the Bureau of Industrial Research, which submitted certain general questions to Mr. Armstrong. His original manuscript has not been altered. It gives a first hand account of the struggle in Somerset, by one engaged in it.*

EVERY worker is union in his heart wherever he is.

The coal diggers were the first men to start the strike at Gray. Fewer and fewer came to work. I cannot put down here who all did the talking and to whom we talked. About April 15th I went down towards the Company office about 6 p. m. There I was told that there had been an organizers' meeting over at a miner's house, situated alongside the state highway, but that state police had broke it up. I had just missed seeing two state police chasing out of town about 12 Italians, who were being blamed for causing the men to stay away from work.

A Polish miner, Frank Koirch, was evicted from a Company house with his wife and six children. The Company officials called a meeting of the diggers and offered 50 cents per yard for digging bottom, all to no avail. I myself heard the mine foreman offer an Italian miner a day's wages if he would only go out the next morning and he would not need to leave the shaft bottom. The Italian miner asked him who was going to look after his family if he went to work. The general manager of the Consolidation Company of that district, who was there, told him his family would be all right, and when the mine foreman made the offer of a day's wages to him the general manager said, "Now, Joe, do you hear that?" Joe did go out the next morning. He was told to go to his work by the same mine foreman who had told him he would pay a day's wages simply for going out and remaining at the shaft bottom all day. Later in the day I heard the foreman say to an assistant boss, "Do you know what that Joe wanted? He wanted a shift for simply coming to work." They did not fool Joe any more. That was his last day. He was a machine runner.

About April 25 there were only eleven diggers at work, but only two day men had come out on strike. More men with their families were evicted. Single men who did not work were given 12 hours to leave town. The Company did everything to stop the tide of unionism, even going around the houses in the morning asking and coaxing the men to return. About this time, James Patrick, a motorman, and I got really busy among the other day men. We had it planned, and on April 30 we quit. That night six of us went where we could join the union and found the temporarily elected President of the Local. He was Slavish, and could not give us the "obligation" in English. Then we decided to send to Boswell for the organizers to take us into the union. We asked for them to come up the next morning.

We then found out that the strike had been carried on by Polish and Slavish born miners and a few Italians. They were the people who made up the majority of the population. Jimmy and I got busy that night and went around to the men, asking them to join the union.

### Converting Men to Unionism

There was a friend of mine watching in company with another man. Not trusting this second man, but wanting to tell my friend what was going on, I decided to go to their watching post and do the work. I knew if this man found out what I was up to, he would report to the office at once. Nevertheless I went, motioned my friend aside, talked to him and soon he was another on the list for the next morning. However, before going home that night I was warned to watch myself as I was spotted. I did not lose any sleep over that, and the next morning eighteen of us, all day men, went to the place of that night before, expecting the organizer. We waited.

After waiting for about an hour they did not come. I was asked to give the men the "obligation". I first took it myself and then gave it to the other men. That was how we joined the union.

I did not want to have the men go away and perhaps get disgusted at the way things had turned out. It was strange, I knew. We had had no word from any union officials. Simply wanted to join the union. Why? To help win organization

in the great non-union stronghold. That night injunctions were served on most of us. They did not give Jimmy Patrick one and I remarked to him that it was rather strange they had missed him. He answered that he would get his "all together," meaning his eviction notice also.

These eighteen were English speaking men who had joined. In a day or two 98 per cent of all the men were on strike and had joined the organization. As I have stated, the officers of the Local were only elected temporarily. I told them that it would be better to have a meeting so as to elect officers. Also a strike committee to look after the needy families and the families who were to be evicted. For we knew, as the Company had started to evict people, that that sort of thing would be kept up. We called a meeting, and we all collected in the woods a distance from Gray. It was the only place we could have a meeting. (I may state here, that the Company had persuaded the farmers around Gray not to allow the miners to hold any meetings on their land, but to post it with trespass notices.) This ground, where the meeting was being held, fortunately, belonged to a striking miner.

### Meeting in the Woods

I had worked pretty hard since coming on strike and I thought that when the officers were elected I would be able to take it easy. We talked amongst ourselves for about half an hour and nothing was being done to open the meeting.

I said to a few men sitting near: "Why don't the meeting start?" A member named Brother Dowe answered, "Armstrong, I guess it is up to you to start the meeting." I did not feel like having too much to say in these men's affairs and stated so. However, I was again requested and I opened the meeting. The important business on hand to my mind was the electing of officers for the Local. The temporarily elected officers had asked that new men be elected, as they stated they were not qualified to hold the position, although they had done good work and had already sent for a charter. I told them so, but they insisted that a change be made. The officers were elected by the men in the correct manner and I was elected President. James Patrick was elected Recording Secretary. I was glad Jimmy was elected to office with me because he was a hard worker and a good friend.

The electing of a strike committee was next, then six members were chosen to take care of the needy families. A collection was taken up, and $18.13 was raised—the beginning of a strike fund for those in need. I had been through strikes in England. In a strike there are always some people who need help almost right away. As work had been very slack the preceding year I realized that we would soon have people to feed. The men's spirits were high. The pass-word, "No work to-morrow," was decided upon.

### Evicted and Told to Get Out

A few days after this I got my eviction notice. That evening Jimmy Patrick was telling me not to get downhearted, and I again remarked that it was strange he had not even got an injunction yet. He answered that he expected to get all his soon—meaning eviction, injunction and orders to leave town. And he added: "I will at least have a day longer than you."

Just as he said that, the Company coal and iron policeman appeared. He pulled some papers out of his pocket, and he handed Jimmy the injunction, eviction notice and another notice to collect his belongings and leave town immediately. So he had to leave town the same date as myself.

Another two got the same notices that evening. We found places to go, and had a bunch of strikers to help move us. Eviction notices were being served pretty freely about this time.

Everyone moved without a murmur of complaint. The women were great. They encouraged their husbands in every way. Some moved into tents, others to stables, shacks, chicken coops and almost any place where shelter could be had. Of course, in town there were only Company owned houses.

The Company tried in every way to break the morale of the men. An English miner told me he was offered $100.00 if he would tell the names of the leaders of the "trouble". They tried in every way to induce the men to return to work—coming to them and telling them when they were about to move that if they would return to work they would not be required to leave town. But it was all to no avail. I have not known a man to return to work because of the fact that he had to move. They went through the hardships and suffering freely but in so doing they knew they would win the organization, and would have much better conditions as union men than they had when non-union men.

Ninety-eight per cent of the miners of Gray were now members of the union and on strike. That shut off production. Strike-breakers were shipped in. This did not discourage the striking miners in the least.

Any person evicted was not allowed to go

through the streets of the town. The post-office being in the Company store, the evicted people had to go into town and to the store for their mail. But the guards saw that they went on the public road, in and out. They also watched them while inside the post-office. We learned, men were shipped into Gray under the understanding that there was no strike. When some of these men learned of the state of affairs they quickly left. Others worked long enough to get enough money to leave, having no money when they arrived. The Company made every inducement to these men to get them to stay: free board, free tools to work with, and extra time. However, the strike went right along. The morale of the strikers was not broken, despite all these trying times.

#### The Story of the Miners' Charity

I know of one miner who was going to his home in West Virginia, taking his wife and family with him. On their way his little girl took sick. He had to have her taken to a hospital in Clarksburg, West Virginia, to save her life. The man did not have much money. The Company must have known that, for he told me they were after him in West Virginia to go back to work. If he did so, they promised to pay all his expenses. At that time he did not do so and not having money, a friend of his went his security for the hospital bill, he promising to pay in one month. He thought a settlement would be reached between operators and miners in time to allow him to pay the amount. A settlement was not reached in that time and he was forced to return to work to pay the bill. He worked long enough to make the amount. Then he came out on strike. The men, knowing the circumstances, voted that he again be taken into the union.

The miners' wives cooperated with their husbands to cut down living expenses and make both ends meet. This was done pretty successfully and in the summer we only had a few needy families to feed. As time went on, however, we had more on the needy list. Our strike fund became depleted. Then, the district organization sent in small sums to buy the bare needs of life. No word of complaint reached me regarding this. The men and women said they were not expecting everything they could use and eat.

Gunmen were still kept employed, but one noticed that the Company had come to believe that the men were really in earnest. They did not know really who was to blame. Families, just the same, were evicted. Miners were arrested and put in jail on paltry charges. Every pressure was brought to bear in an effort to break the strike.

#### Mrs. George Rafferty

A miner named George Rafferty, who had been on strike for three months, had been allowed to live in a Company house, because his wife was about to become a mother. Nevertheless, the Company finally gave him an eviction notice. He asked the manager of the Company to allow him to stay in the house until his wife was over her trouble.

The answer was, "You will have to go out, if it takes the army to put you out."

Out with his wife and 6 children he went, to live in an old garage and tent. Mrs. Rafferty was in bed sick a month before her baby was born. She never gave out one word of complaint, saying she would sooner be out of the town amongst union men than living amongst strike-breakers and scabs.

A couple of days after the men at Gray came on strike, we met a man from Bell. He told me that the men at Bell mines were out about 95 per cent. He said it was arranged that the men who were going to strike there were to quit work at 12 noon—which they did. All walked out of the mines, sent for the organizers, and were made union men.

The organizers had arranged to hold a meeting at Bell the following week. I had not attended a meeting yet, but I went to this one. It was raining when we arrived at the meeting place, and it was decided to hold it in a nearby barn, owned by a striking miner. Going to the barn we had to pass Company ground. Behind trees we noted three Company officials, who took the names of the men as they passed to go to the meeting. These officials were the general manager, the assistant manager of the Company and the "super" of Bell mine.

When inside of the barn and an organizer was about to make a speech, someone told him that there was a mine foreman and two assistant mine foremen outside. He said: "Tell them to come inside to the meeting, we have nothing but the truth to tell and they might hear something that will do them good." The invitation was not accepted by the mine officials.

#### The Parable of the Rats

This meeting was pretty well attended and the men very determined to win what they had come out on strike for. Twelve men were taken into the union at this meeting. Organizer McCloskey made a speech and told how conditions were in

union mines. He compared these conditions with conditions in non-union mines and the men readily saw where it was going to benefit them to belong to an organization such as the U. M. W. of A.

He told a story of two rats. "Two rats were in a farmer's cellar, in which was a large basin of milk. One was a union rat, the other non-union. The rats in the act of partaking of this milk fell in. They swam around for quite awhile. Then the non-union rat said to the union rat, 'What is the use of trying to get out? I am going to give up.' It did, and sank to the bottom and was drowned. The union rat said, 'That is not the way I was organized,' and said, 'I am not going to give up yet.' So he kept on swimming and swimming until a small piece of butter appeared. The butter got bigger and finally it got large enough for the rat to jump on and then he got out of the basin of milk." This story, the speaker said, was an example of the union men who had fought and won organization and the non-union miner. The non-union man often said, "What is the use of trying to get better conditions," and sank down. The union men kept on until they attained what they were after.

### The "Lease"

Some of the striking miners reported to the organizer that they had received five-day notices to vacate the houses they occupied. He asked if they had signed a "lease" when they got the house. "Yes," was the answer. The organizer said the Company then had the power to evict them; therefore, the organization had to supply tents for these people to live in as there were no other houses available around these mining towns.

I may say that when a man got employment at these non-union mines and before he got a house he had to sign one of these "leases". If he did not sign a "lease", he got no house. If he could not get a house (no other than Company-owned houses being available), he could not work at these mines. The Company had the miner both ways—coming and going.

### Powers Hapgood

The men went home from the meeting in good spirits and determined to win. The next meeting I attended was again at Bell, the following Sunday. But, in the meantime, an injunction was served on me as well as on a number of other strikers. I was told that a speaker named Powers Hapgood was going to speak at this meeting and he did. He was a young man, and a good speaker. He had worked in both union and non-union mines. Therefore, he was well acquainted with conditions in both classes of mines. He made a fine speech and was very well liked and respected by the striking miners.

He compared conditions in union and non-union mines. "The non-union men," he said, "needed to be organized for four main reasons: A check weighman on the scales to safeguard their weight; payment for "dead work"; a committee to adjust their grievances; and, a right to say under what conditions they would work."

The men realized that this was what they did require.

### "No Strike in Somerset?"

The coal operators said there was no strike in Somerset county. According to the number of people at the meeting it was proved that this claim was a joke. A mass meeting was held at Jenners in June. Between six and seven thousand men and women were present. It was the largest meeting of the kind ever held in Somerset county. The strikers and their wives came from all distances to be present. It was held in a field away from the sight of the coal operations of Jenners, owned by the Consolidation. The reason for this was, that the injunction had in it a clause that said no meetings were to be held in sight of any coal operation. If the operators really believed what they said about there being no strike in Somerset county it would have been good for some of them to have been at this meeting. The number of striking miners present told the story! One incident happened which kept a large number of men from this meeting. The strikers from Jerome—a town six miles from Jenners, owned by the Hillman Coal & Coke Company—were marching to the meeting when the State police stopped them and made them return to their homes. The police said that marching by a number of men was not allowed. The men, anxious to keep within the law, quietly dispersed and returned home. This, of course, was just another card of the operators to try to discourage the strikers. The Jenners meeting lasted about four hours, there being five speakers. It was a great meeting. These mass meetings were not held often, but whenever they were held they were largely attended. The local meetings kept on right along and also the "organizers' meetings," at which the organizers spoke.

# Real Victory

## *A Little Tip From Psychology*

By PRINCE HOPKINS

THE importance of the labor and other social movements would be small if it ended with their direct mechanical results. A more valuable result is, to bring to working people increased leisure in which to observe their own impulses and so become masters of their own nature and less dependent on conditions outside themselves.

To explain this, I wish first to show how people are affected, not simply by what is told them in logical sentences, not by obvious mechanical factors in their lives, but from hints they get from inuendoes that speakers unintentionally utter, and from changes in facial expression and pitch of voice and even more subtle things.

For only a short time has the thinking and speaking animal called man, existed, compared with the ages during which the speechless brute ancestors from whom he is descended roamed the earth. The historical period during which man has been an engineer creating an artificial world for himself to live in, has been even shorter — literally a mere flash of the eye in the lifetime of his race. Man's instincts were moulded during his long cradling in the jungle; it will take not tens, but hundreds or thousands of centuries before the slow processes of evolution can adapt him to his own inventions.

In that long period before human speech was evolved, our animal ancestors became expert in guessing the meaning of each others' cries, tone of voice, facial expression, gestures, etc. This capacity lies hidden in us yet and unconsciously influences us.

Some in whom such "intuition" is unusually developed, pretend that it is a "telepathic" or "occult" power. Usually, but not always, with the help of trickery, they impose on people as "mind-readers", "astrologers", "palmists" and "spirit-mediums".

### Mind Reading

Experiments by the late Professor Muensterberg of Harvard University and others show that if fraud is excluded, "mind reading" can only be done when the person whose mind is "read" is near enough that his face can be seen, his breathing heard or his pulse or his muscular trembling detected. Apparently no thought nor emotion takes place in our minds but is accompanied by such physical symptoms. For instance, when we think of walking, the muscles of the legs take part in it ever so faintly, and when we think a sentence in words, we do so through slight twitchings of the muscles of our throat. You can detect this yourself if you pronounce the word "axe".

So people are continually giving clues to their unspoken thoughts and feelings. One can hardly avoid falling in with the habits of thought, therefore, of those who surround him continually. Individuality is swamped in the spirit of the crowd, and unless this tendency is offset deliberately, it leads to loss of mental and emotional balance.

The only way to counterbalance the growth of this tendency toward our individuation, is to practice examination of our own tendencies and motives, to the end of disciplining ourselves against being moved by hasty, insincere and ill considered impulses.

In the ancient world this practice of self-examination and self-discipline was much emphasized. As a result, the art of living sanely and happily appears to have been better understood than it is today. If so, all our progress in industry and even in science has been bought at too great a price, since they have no meaning except as they contribute to fuller life.

### Ask Yourself This Question

If the reader now wishes to test the truth of my contention that happiness depends on learning not to be so concerned with the pendulum of good and bad external events, rather than on trying to make the pendulum swing only to the good side, let him ask himself the following question.

"Was there ever a period in your life when Happiness didn't seem to be just over the hill of some immediate problem? And when you had surmounted that hill, after a brief moment of rejoicing, wasn't Happiness again just over the hill of another problem?"

You see, our nature is to struggle. Meeting problem after problem is exactly what makes up life.

To realize this fact rids a person of many childish illusions. Some people, to be sure, adopt the pose of cynic—and are still pursued by their problems. A few throw themselves into some work

or cause, and—provided that they have truly accepted the nature of life—these are far on the road to that happiness which others vainly seek.

But if personal happiness is like a fickle mistress who runs when you pursue, and only comes to you when you scorn her, why should it be much otherwise with happiness as sought by the community? There is a vague perception that the happiness of the community is little greater today than centuries ago, although each generation was as confident as we are that some new scheme it was trying was at last what would mechanically set everything right.

### The Coming of Science

Up to recent times, the burden of human ignorance of the physical world lay almost as heavy on the race as it did at the dawn of history. With the coming of experimental science, all mankind felt a thrill of anticipation. Each new discovery in whatever line was hailed by thinking men as though it were an accession to their personal power. Especially when science turned in upon man himself, giving us economics, sociology and psychology, Utopia seemed not far off.

Today, when the flood of new discoveries is so great that a specialist can hardly keep trace of them in even his own field, and a text-book is out of date by the time it is printed, every truth is suspect. We stand aghast, says Profesor Hobhouse, at the ease with which men of the time of Herbert Spencer, J. S. Mill and Karl Marx explained the world, in terms which are now hopelessly narrow—an ease that may never return.

The problem, moreover, of how to scatter broadcast this new knowledge, seemed solved by the invention of printing, and by the establishing of systems of universal public education. **But we're now faced with the fact that press, schools, and even "movies" and wireless, are being used to broadcast vicious misinformation, and at other times to drug our intellects to sleep.**

Someone has declared that the one undoubtedly good achievement of western civilization is, sanitation. Yet it's largely to the victories of modern medicine that we owe problems of surplus populations and of the multiplication of weaklings and morons.

In ancient times, men justified slavery of the masses as necessary in order that a few freemen could hand on the torch of culture. Power machinery in western countries today has virtually endowed us with the service of ten slaves apiece. Yet far from solving the problem of man's economic liberation, and ushering in the expected millennium of culture, machinery has chiefly brought new problems. Machines dictate the pace at which we shall work and live, and how we shall organize ourselves. We have all become the slaves of our own engines.

Man the engineer is but the recentest flowering of a long line of descent. In jungle and forest, alternately hunting and being hunted, his ancestors, through countless generations, lived adventurously. Within a period which, compared with this long history, is but the wink of an eye, he becomes "civilized", and lives as a cell in the great jelly-fish, his nation. He is subjected to some strange mechanical perils, and deprived of the natural dangers, to meet which his instincts adapt him.

### Happiness and Freedom

Man can only be happy in the degree that his environment and his nature are in harmony. This is by no means the same as saying that he is happy in proportion as we give him safety and comfort. He asks for ease, but his nature is not at all adapted to a life of ease.

But just here we come to a paradox. Such self-examination takes a great deal of leisure. This existed to some extent in the ancient world; but how is one to find it today?

Man must free himself from the domination of the machine. And to do that he must conquer more leisure by entering in to those very types of social reorganization, to which we have already alluded. By the elimination of wastes inherent in a profiteering industrial system he can hope for a shorter working-day and for leisure that will make self-development possible.

We can have no sympathy with those "good" people who tell us that economic problems will be solved wisely for the masses by the great captains of industry "to whom it has pleased God to entrust the wealth of our country". But as power comes more and more into the hands of victorious labor, as it surely is coming, the necessity grows that the new control be exercised by individuated, independent minds.

Between no interest in social questions, and the contagious view that all ills lie outside the individual and are subject to mechanical remedies, there is a sane third ground. It is, that we plunge heart and soul into the battle, but realize that only as we capitalize our gains in terms of self-observation, self-development and individuated thinking, can we have any real victory.

# Labor History in the Making

## *In the U. S. A.*

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors.)

### WORKERS' EDUCATION ADVANCES

**WORKERS' EDUCATION for the current year is now on in full swing. It has received a great push forward in the agreement entered into between the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau. By this agreement the A. F. of L. and the Bureau have joined hands in promoting a nation-wide program of workers education.**

**Already has this movement spread from coast to coast. Over 100 study classes are now organized under the auspices of workers organizations, according to the latest statement of the Workers' Education Bureau. Upwards of 20,000 workers are attending these classes—which are taught in many cases by high school and college instructors in trade union halls, public schools and public libraries.**

**During the past month the newly elected governor of Colorado, William E. Sweet, delivered the opening address at the Denver Labor College. It is one of the largest of the new workers' colleges to be added to the list. In New York City both the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are doing extensive work in this form of education. So wide-spread is the movement that there is scarcely a large industrial city without its educational institution under union control.**

**The big reason for this effort is to train workers to become effective in their own movement. At a time when the workers are turning to offensive action—in labor banks, cooperative shops and stores, and the like—workers education will be of great help in giving the movement men within its own ranks who will be able to cooperate in the management of these big efforts.**

### "YOU CAN'T STRIKE"

"PRESIDENT HARDING learned nothing from the recent elections." That is the blunt way in which the **Railway Clerk** views the President's recent message to Congress. One of the chief features of that message was the recommendation in regard to railroad labor.

The Railroad Labor Board, the President found, was dead. The striking shopmen had killed it. Roads are signing agreements with the Brotherhoods and other unions, without consulting that Board. "Too bad, too bad," says the Man in the White House in effect, "but create a board with teeth in it and you will get results, a board which can use all the governmental machinery to put an end to strikes." In other words, "the Railroad Labor Board broke down because it was autocratic. Remedy: Make a board still more autocratic." This new Warrenesque creation would be under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission—already famed for its inaction against the railroads, so far as enforcement of the bad equipment laws is concerned. This inaction has become so great that President William H. Johnston of the Machinists was compelled a few days ago to speak out against it.

The answer of the rail workers to the decree, "You cannot strike!" is given by the **Locomotive Engineers' Journal.** "We emphatically deny," the Journal says, "that railway employees ever will permit themselves to be shackled to their jobs by a politically-appointed labor board or other such tribunal. The moment they do, then liberty in this country will be a dead letter."

Advocating "government ownership of the rail workers" in the interest of the railroads, the President, of course, shrinks from government ownership of the roads in the interest of the workers. With a show of heat, he terms government operation a "supreme folly." Yet, according to the **Minnesota Union Advocate,** organ of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, public ownership of the railroads is the only way out of the transportation muddle for the workers and the "public." "The American public," that paper says, "have had a good opportunity to make comparisons of public and private managements, and anyone with a particle of brains can easily determine the relative merits of the two systems of control." Despite the "coddling" of the roads with "subsidies, guarantees and wage deflations," service is getting worse and the industry falling into chaos.

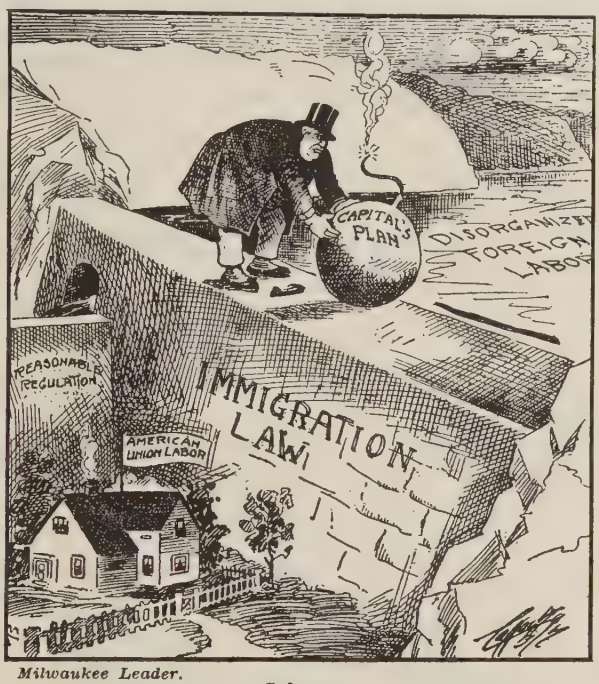
### WELCOMING THE STRANGER

DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD, president of Williams College, has had a change of heart concerning the immigrant. The change comes—oddly enough—just as Gary, the textile companies and other manufacturers are demanding a revision in the present immigration law, so that more foreign labor can come in. (Of course, college presidents—associating with the rich as a means of getting endowments their colleges must have—do have a remarkably unanimous way of agreeing with the said rich on labor problems.)

The worthy doctor, whatever his motives, formerly held that the unskilled laborer could not expect to receive a wage which would allow him to marry or support a family. (The Railroad Labor Board had just handed down a decision, you know, that a living wage for unskilled rail workers was practically a crime against Industry.) But now he finds that we should welcome the immigrant into our midst and pay him a wage that will let him live according to the American standard of living.

All of which illustrates the dilemma in which reactionary forces find themselves.

As a result of the present immigration restriction law—by which the "bolsheviks" and "anarchists" were to be shut out forever from America—the Steel Trust finds itself short on labor. It was compelled to increase the wages of its laborers a while back, to prevent them, it was said, from going to the railroads. That is dangerous for the Steel Kings. The steel makers may learn that it is a good time to strike. The textile victories were won by the workers for the same reason—no immigrant strike-breakers were on hand. At Patterson only this last month the Textile bosses were obliged to sue for peace, and to rig up a new form of arbitration machinery on which the workers were represented. In Fall River, Mass., the United Textile Workers are making further demands.




*Milwaukee Leader.*

**Sabotage**

*N. Y. American.*

**Robbing the Eagle's Nest**

**"FOR LOVE OF COUNTRY"**

The **Toledo Union Record,** referring to a recent issue of the **Manufacturers Record,** puts the case very nicely:

> **"Considering the matter of immigration, the Manufacturers' Record is tossed between two alternatives and is hardly able to decide which is to be preferred. If the bars are let down it thinks that the government should see to it that no 'Anarchist or Bolshevists' arrive. These words will include anybody who is not a docile believer in things as they are.**
>
> **"On the other hand this 'exponent of America', as the title reads, likes the idea of flooded labor market. There is nothing said against the importation of laborers with monarchist or white guard ideas. These apparently are perfectly consistent with the 'democracy' of the 'exponent of America'."**
>
> **The Milwaukee Federated Trades and Labor Assembly, according to the Milwaukee Leader, has passed a resolution against a return to unrestricted immigration. The Leader vigorously supports the Assembly's stand.**

## "PAY"—TRIOTISM

IN the meantime, the President is hustling "undesirable" strangers out of our gates.

Christmas was here last month. In a burst of true Christian spirit, as he admitted, Will Hays forgave Fatty Arbuckle his sins and restored him to his job in the films. So Warren thought he could afford to be generous also. He "pardoned" eight I. W. W. war prisoners, seven of them British subjects—after their continued imprisonment had caused a row in the British House of Commons. The condition of their release was that they were to be deported! The one American was given that condition also, though he hails from Illinois. All of these men were convicted in the famous Chicago case. The lack of evidence in that case so aroused Senator George Wharton Pepper, after he read the record, that he let it be known that he emphatically disagrees with the President's deportation policy. This is all the more striking, because if Senator Pepper has any progressive views they have been kept a deep, dark secret.

At about this same time we learn that aides to former Attorney-General Palmer and Secretary of War Baker have been indicted for war frauds. While serving the government at $1 a year, they have helped to walk off with millions of the Government's war money. But there is many a slip between an indictment and a conviction—for "gentlemen" offenders. It is very likely that these gentlemen will escape—through the zealous work of Daugherty—just as Morse the millionaire was let out, and the two lone employers whom Untermeyer succeeded in having sentenced to short terms, as a result of the Lockwood investigation.

The rank discrimination shown between these men, who have looted the Government, and the political prisoners—still held at Leavenworth for an alleged violation of an act long ago repealed and convicted by a judge whose prejudice against workers is a by-word—should stir every labor man to action for the release of the imprisoned men. Labor has taken a strong stand for am-

nesty for all political prisoners. It is high time that Labor's demand were granted!

### A NEEDLE TRADES ALLIANCE?

"WILL an alliance of all the unions in the needle trades be effected in the near future?" The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers have again brought this question to the fore, in a letter to the general executive boards of the four other needle trade unions which met in conference on this subject in 1920. These unions are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Fur Workers' Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Journeymen Tailors' Union. The United Garment Workers, alone of the needle trades, refused to meet in this first conference.

The Cap Makers now propose a form of organization somewhat different from what was considered at that time. The new proposed constitution, for example, provides for an executive secretary of the alliance as the sole officer in addition to "an Executive Council." The chairmen of the various meetings of the alliance are to be temporary officers, chosen at each meeting for the meeting following.

According to the plan printed in the **Headgear Worker,** organ of the Cap Makers, the annual convention of the alliance will be made up "of delegates from every affiliated international union as follows: International unions with a membership of not over 5,000 shall be entitled to 5 delegates; over 5,000 but not over 25,000 to ten delegates; over 25,000 but not over 100,000 to 15 delegates; over 100,000 to 20 delegates." In addition, every local branch of the alliance will be allowed one delegate, these local branches to be formed in cities where there are 2 or more local unions belonging to 2 or more of the internationals. On the executive council (of 15 members) each international will be represented by 2 members. Five additional members of the council will be elected by the annual convention.

In sending its letter to the other needle trades unions, the Cap Makers point to the favorable attitude of the conventions of all of the unions to some sort of an alliance. As they see it, this alliance would do unified organization work, provided for a common legal defense, and have a common organ in the shape of a brief bulletin.

Within the next month all of the needle trades unions will probably have replied to the Cap Makers' appeal. LABOR AGE will report the answers of the unions and discuss the likelihood of an effective alliance in detail in the next issue.

## *In Other Lands*

### THE NEW YEAR

**Hope, based on recent political victories in a number of countries, marks the coming of the new year for Foreign Labor. It is a hope tempered by much uncertainty as to what the future holds.**

**Reaction received a hard upper-cut in Australia and New Zealand, where the labor parties made decided gains. In the former country Labor is the leading party in the Parliament and will probably control the government. In Poland the labor forces elected a Socialist President, only to have him assassinated by a reactionary.**

**The recent gains of the British Labor Party have not affected the policy of the Bonar Law Government in the least. The unemployment question is still the big issue. The government has done practically nothing to solve it. Another big demonstration of the unemployed took place on New Year's Day. An army of unemployed from Scotland (known as the "Scottish Hunger Marchers") invaded London. But their spokesmen, seeking an audience with the Minister of Health, were forcibly ejected from the government building.**

**Reaction, in the old year, for the first time broke out into armed Counter-Revolution. Although it has only been thoroughly successfully is one country—Italy—this movement is gaining ground in almost every European country. The big question before the European Labor Movement for 1923, is: "How far will this Counter-Revolution go? Does it mean the beginning of a series of armed struggles between the workers and the employers all over the continent?"**

**The governments seem more and more unable to answer these or any other internal questions. All their efforts are turned to the imperialistic Game of Grab—particularly in Coal and Oil. The Fascisti won largely because they promised to make Italy a "capitalist country" like other countries. France and England, in the Balkans and in Germany, are trying to block each others' move to get possession of more spoil. Parliamentary government seems to be entering a fossil state.**

### WHAT AUSTRALIA REJECTED

*Australian Worker.*

THE STORK (Premier Hughes): "Blithering Blazes! How am I going to deliver these squalling brats? They've closed the chimney against me!"

## "HIS MAJESTY'S OFFICIAL OPPOSITION"

**The British Election and its meaning, reported for LABOR AGE by Felix Morley. Mr. Morley is an American newspaperman who has spent a number of years in England.**

J. RAMSEY Mac DONALD

*Leader of the Opposition*

*RAMSEY MacDONALD, expert parliamentarian, thorough-going Laborite, and above all outspoken and unswerving pacifist, is leader of the opposition in Great Britain's new Parliament. At his side are E. D. Morel, Philip Snowden, Arthur Ponsonby, Charles P. Trevelyan, Sidney Webb, Noel Buxton and Roden Buxton, Fred Jowett, Neil Maclean, Ben Spoor, George Lansbury and other internationally known pacifists. Behind the principles which they represent are the votes of one-third of the British electorate, excluding the unenfranchised women under thirty among whom the anti-war spirit is rampant. Times have changed since the "elimination of the pacifist group" in the House of Commons by the khaki election of 1918.*

*From the advent of Keir Hardy down to 1914 the fighting vanguard of British Labor was always composed of thorough-going pacifists, and those who were at the head at the outbreak of war remained true to principle throughout. Naturally enough they suffered heavily when a month after the Armistice an electorate of which millions were still under army discipline were called upon to choose their representatives. Ramsey MacDonald, as uncompromising in his stand against war as ever Debs, Jaures and Liebknecht were, was among those beaten. With many "defeatists" out of action, and under a leadership predominantly "safe and sane" the Labor Party after 1918 did not seem such a terrible bogy after all.*

*In the much more instructive election of 1922 are found a number of important political lessons. It wiped opportunism, in the guise of Lloyd George's following, off the political map. It showed the weakness of milk and water Liberalism. It made the ugly duckling of politics the authentic opposition party in Parliament. It demonstrated that every old-party leader is morally repudiated in England. But none of these lessons are more significant than the fact that Ramsey MacDonald and other uncompromising pacifists were returned triumphant to assume the leadership of Labor.*

*Compared with the ponderous Conservative army of 345 members, the Labor opposition of 145 is still unimposing. But politics is not a mathematical science. Consideration of party representation alone gives a poor forecast of events in the new Parliament. In the ranks of the Conservative party there is a division little realized in this country. Between the active minority of imperialistic "die-hards" and the majority who are Conservative because of commercial and financial promptings exist serious differences of opinion. Between these two sections there may at any time arise a clash of opinion too great for the tranquil Bonar Law to bridge by compromise. In such cases a cleverly handled opposition party could play havoc with the big paper majority of the Conservatives.*

*Then will come the opportunity for Labor. Whether or not that opportunity is capitalized will depend very largely on the skill of its chosen leaders. In the last Parliament they were not capable of taking every advantage of an opponent's weakness. This was true alike of Henderson, Clynes and J. H. Thomas, all of them shrewd in defense, but apparently not capable in the direction of effective attack. Under such a command Labor could not have been a very effective opposition in the present Parliament. But Clynes has now stepped aside for a man who knows Parliament thoroughly and who will be able to use the opposition strength of the Liberal groups without yielding control to them.*

*It remains to be noted that the triumph of the pacifist group is by no means the only indication of the predominance of anti-war feeling in Great Britain. The "last straw" in the eviction of Lloyd George was the belief that his foreign policy had brought the nation to the verge of war with Turkey. Never in recent years has any premier suffered such utter defeat. Winston Churchill, outstanding jingo of his Cabinet, received only 20,466 votes in Dundee, as against 30,293 for the out-and-out pacifist Morel. Sir Hamar Greenwood, promoter under Lloyd George of the Black and Tan regime in Ireland, was heavily defeated. Captains Guest and Gee and other prominent militarists endorsed by the ex-premier for the last Parliament have been turned out. Nor is it apparent that Mr. Lloyd George expended his money very wisely when in the recent campaign he made a special journey to Aberavon to denounce Ramsey MacDonald's war record.*

*Along with this anti-militarist landslide stands out the moral defeat of all the old-school leaders in the British election. In Glasgow Bonar Law himself received fewer votes than the total cast for his Labor and Liberal opponents. Mr. Asquith at Paisley barely nosed out the Labor candidate by a majority of 300 in a vote of 30,000. Henderson was beaten, and in view of the debacle of "National Liberalism" there is small consolation for Lloyd George in the fact that he was permitted to return unopposed.*

*In brief, Great Britain is demanding not only new and finer ideals, but also leaders who embody them. The election there, as in America, has demonstrated the widespread dissatisfaction with old-school politicians, regardless of their party affiliation. The fact that the Conservative majority was returned by a minority vote; the four and a quarter million ballots cast for Labor; the triumph of the pacifists; the precarious position of the old-party leaders, all support the conclusion that Bonar Law's government is not as substantial as it appears. England wants peace, which the new Premier promises. But her people also want ideals different from those which have resulted in the collapse of European civilization.*

## AUSTRALIAN LABOR COMES BACK

AUSTRALIAN Labor went its British brother one better in the elections last month. When the results were polled, Labor was shown to be the leading party. It had captured 34 seats. The "Nationalist" party took 27, while the "Country" (farmer) party secured 14 members. It is not certain that Labor will control the government, although this seems likely. The Country party leans toward sympathy with the Nationalists, who have been in control since the defeat of Labor during the War. Many of the labor papers attacked the Country party as a sham farmers' organization. But a number of the successful candidates are opposed to the Nationalists and will probably join hands with Labor.

The character of the Australian Labor party can be understood from the campaign carried on by one of its chief organs, **The Australian Worker.** Its entire campaign was based on an attack on Capitalism, which it terms "Triumphant Stupidity." It speaks in terms of "Revolution." But "the Australian Revolution"—to quote one of its leading contributors—"will differ from all the revolutions preceding it. It will not be violently set up by angry and uninstructed mobs armed with lethal weapons, but will create itself from the votes of a fully enfranchised people, who know exactly where they want to go, and the road by which to get there."

At the same time, the Australian trade unions are busy in other ways. The Council of Action, appointed by the All-Australian Trade Union Congress, has issued a "manifesto," proposing that the workers engage in a general strike in case of another war threat. They point to the fact that "60,000 Australians have sacrificed their lives, 166,000 have suffered mutilation, and 330,000 have risked life and limb under the solemn promise that the recent European war was the last that would afflict mankind."

# BOOK NOTES

### WHAT TO READ

#### 9. The Story of Steel

**Berglund, Abraham, "United States Steel Corporation; a study of the growth and influence of combination in the iron and steel industry." N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1907; 178pp.**

**Byington, M. F., "Homestead; the households of a mill town." N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation Library, 1910. (Pittsburgh Survey.)**

**Commons, J. R., and others, "History of Labor in the United States." N. Y.: Macmillan, 1918; 2 volumes. See index under Iron and Steel.**

**Drury, H. B., "Three-shift System in the Steel Industry." (In Taylor Society Bulletin, N. Y.) Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 2-30. Feb., 1921. (Cabot fund study of plants introducing 8-hour day. Given in part in American Federationist, Washington; Vol. 28, p. 128-134, Feb., 1921. Also in U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review, Washington; Vol. 12, p. 113-16, January, 1921.)**

**Fitch, J. A., "Steel Workers." N. Y.: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910; 308pp. (Pittsburgh Survey). Detailed study of steel workers unions, descriptions of their hours, wages, jobs, housing, and life in steel towns.**

**Foster, W. Z., "The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons." N. Y.: Huebsch, 1920; 265pp. The story of the 1919-1920 strike in the words of its leaders.**

**Interchurch World Movement Commission of Inquiry, "Public Opinion and the Steel Strike." N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1921; 346pp. The reports of the field investigators, including sections on the press, spies, clergy, etc.**

**Interchurch World Movement Commission of inquiry, "Report on the Steel Strike of 1919." N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1920; 277pp. A review of the strike made by a body of clergymen with the technical assistance of the Bureau of Industrial Research. Covers anti-union labor policy of steel, hours, wages, cost of living, spies, the press, etc.**

**Keir, Malcolm, "Manufacturing Industries in America." N. Y.: Ronald Press Co., 1920; 324pp. Iron and steel industry, p. 96-141. A simple introduction to the history and making of steel.**

**McNeill, G. E., ed., "Story of the Iron Workers." (In Labor Movement, 1887; p. 268-311.) The early History of the Sons of Vulcan, Knights of Labor and other steel unions.**

**Robinson, J. S., "Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers." Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science; ser. 38, No. 2, 166pp.) A thesis on the union of skilled steel workers.**

**Taussig, F. W., "Iron Industry in the United States." In Bullock, C. J., ed., Selected Readings in Economics, 1907; p. 193-215. A brief history of the industry.**

**U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, "Fuel Report and Testimony." Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916; 11 vols.; U. S. Steel Corporation. George W. Perkins, Direct Testimony; vol. 8, 7598 and 7610pp. J. P. Morgan, vol. 9, 7084p.**

**Vorse, M. H., "Men and Steel." N. Y.: Boni-Liveright, 1920. (Review by William Hard in New Republic; vol. 24, p. 51-2, December 8, 1920.) A human interest story of the steel strike.**

**Walker, C. R., "Steel; the Diary of a Furnace Worker." Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922; 157pp. A most vivid and readable description of the steel worker's job. Reviewed by John Fitch in Labor Age, January, 1923.**

**(Numerous articles in the Survey, Nation and New Republic by John A. Fitch, William Hard and Paul U. Kellogg should also be read.)**

* * *

WITH industrial unionism one of the important subjects of discussion within the labor movement, active labor men and women and students of labor problems will welcome Dr. Marion Savage's new review of **"Industrial Unionism in America"** (Ronald Press, N. Y.) The book gives a clear and impartial story of industrial unionism in the brewing industry, coal and metal mining, the garment and textile industries and in other fields. It will interest many folks to know that the movement for industrial form of organization had such a long history in the American movement; also, that it has made so much progress as it has. The author's disclaimer of any intention of being dogmatic, carried out throughout the book, makes this conclusion the more forceful: "Whatever we may conclude as to the probable success of such an industrial system as these unions prophesy, we must not fail to recognize the idealism and real social passion that have inspired this high hope for an order where neither ownership of the means of production nor power over those engaged in it shall be concentrated in the hands of a few, and where industry shall be run primarily for the benefit of the community rather than for the profit of individuals."

# OUR COVER PICTURES

ADMIT IT! You were surprised to see the picture of a lady on the front cover of the December issue. "What had that to do with Labor's fight?" you may have asked. It had much to do with it. The picture was none other than that of Miss Jane Cowl, one of the leading actors in the Actors' Unions own first play—MALVALOCA. The Actors have not only stood solidly in their union ranks, but in this theatre—the Equity Theatre—have begun an interesting effort to produce plays without the Profit Maker.

* * *

The picture on the January cover is a reproduction of Joseph Stella's drawing, "In the Light of a Steel Ingot", appearing in "The Steel Workers". This was one of the volumes of the celebrated Pittsburgh Survey, copyrighted by the Russell Sage Foundation. The picture has been reproduced by permission.


## "WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES"

**1922 EDITION**

**NOW READY** **NOW READY**

This ANNUAL REPORT of the NATIONAL CONFERENCE on WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES has become the standard source of information for labor in this country and abroad; for students, teachers, writers, librarians, and research workers. It is CURRENT HISTORY of a significant Educational Movement of Adult Workingmen and Women.

**196-Page Volume—Price, Fifty Cents a Copy**

ADDRESS

**WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA**
**465 West 23d Street, New York City**

## TROTSKY'S GREATEST BOOK

**"Dictatorship vs. Democracy"**

*Answers point by point questions which are agitating the entire world of Labor in its struggles for power.*

"Dictatorship," "Democracy," "Terrorism," "The Paris Commune," "Balance of Power" —are some chapter headings in this answer of Trotsky's to all opponents of Sovietism.

**JUST PUBLISHED**

**Cloth, $1.00. Paper, 50 Cents.**

*200 pages with Foreword by Max Bedact and Preface by H. N. Brailsford*

## *"The Worker"*

*A six-page weekly newspaper for workers will fill your wants for news, comment, theory and practical discussions of all Labor's most vital problems. Cartoons by Robert Minor and Art Young.*

*SPECIAL OFFER — 20 weeks. 50 cents.*

**WORKERS' PARTY,**
**799 Broadway, Room 405**
**New York City.**

## The Workers' Defense Union

**Help in the drives for amnesty for the federal and state political prisoners. Funds are greatly needed. Petitions are to be signed. Literature is to be distributed. HELP US TO HELP THEM.**

**OFFICERS: F. G. Biedenkapp, Treasurer; Henry Fruchter, Secretary; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Organizer.**

**ADDRESS: 81 East 10th Street, New York City**

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 2 W. 13th St., New York City. Subscription price, $1.00 a year.

## *The* ACADEMY PRESS

PRINTERS *of* QUALITY

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS
NEWSPAPERS, STATIONERY
PERIODICALS, FOLDERS, ETC.

112 FOURTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: 6671—9176—6440 STUYVESANT

*BROTHERS—*

# *HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY*

BIG BUSINESS has a great number of organs which keep It informed—which tell It of the condition of trade, of the labor market, and of how to reach out and get ahead of its opponents and competitors. These organs are called COAL AGE, IRON AGE, RAILWAY AGE, GAS AGE, ETC.

BUT—

Up until a year ago there was no publication giving all the facts about the labor movement and furnishing information to Labor for its use in its fight. This job is now being done by LABOR AGE.

Its facts are carefully compiled—and presented in such a way that HE WHO RUNS MAY READ. It is improving with each issue—technically and in contents—by the verdict of its readers.

*Each local union should have at least five copies each month, for its officers and active members.*

NEXT MONTH—FEBRUARY—IT WILL FEATURE:

*MINNESOTA AND ITS LABOR MOVEMENT*

*(The Story of the Home of "Main Street"—the only State to elect a Farmer-Labor Party Senator—the State of Pierce Butler—Where Labor Cooperatives Thrive—Where Union Milk Drivers Control a $1,000,000 Cooperative Creamery—Where the Largest County is Controlled by Labor—Where the Non-Partisan League is a Power)*

You will want to get these facts, hitherto unpublished, about "the other side of Main Street": This great Northwest labor movement.

---

RARE COMBINATION OFFERS:

LABOR AGE and (British) LABOUR MONTHLY. Usual price for both, $4.00. Combination Price, $3.50.

SCOTT NEARING'S NEW BOOK, "THE NEXT STEP" and LABOR AGE. Usual price of Book and one year's subscription, $3.00. Combination Price, $2.50.

LABOR PUBLICATION SOCIETY, Inc., 41 Union Square, New York City.